Daily Report

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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Menem Opens Rio Group Summit in Buenos Aires

PY0112155292 Buenos Aires Argentina Televisora Color Network in Spanish 1251 GMT 1 Dec 92

[Speech by Argentine President Carlos Saul Menem during the opening ceremony of the sixth Rio Group Summit at the Alvear Palace Hotel in Buenos Aires on 1 December—live]

[Text] Distinguished presidents and friends of the Rio Group countries, Messrs. foreign ministers, Mr. OAS secretary general, Messrs. special guests, Messrs. members of American organizations, Messrs. ambassadors, ladies and gentlemen, Latin American brothers and sisters:

It is truly an honor to have such illustrious visitors in the city of Buenos Aires. Our city receives with open arms all participants of these American days.

It is extremely auspicious for us, the Latin American presidents, to meet here. This event strengthens the Rio Group's continuity and presence.

Major events have occurred in the international arena since we last met in Cartagena de Indias; some of them promising, others disappointing, but these events are incapable of preventing the firm march toward the achievement of our common goals.

Since its creation, the Rio Group has assumed the commitment of strengthening democracy in our hemisphere and preserving our institutions.

A few days ago, the presidents of the Rio Group, repudiated the events in the sister Republic of Venezuela, events that represent an attack against the representative democratic system and basic human rights.

From this forum, we express our solidarity and support to the government of constitutional President Carlos Andres Perez and we pay tribute to all our Venezuelan brothers, men and women, civilian and military, who, over the past few days, have fallen for championing democracy and liberty.

Today more than ever I feel the need to remember the words of His Holiness John Paul II: During your entire life you must affirm and reaffirm the values that forge you and forge the world—the values that favor life, that reflect the human being's dignity and vocation, that will construct a world of peace and justice.

We know the task of strengthening democracy is arduous and complex. Sometimes it seems that, as the reforms progress, complications increase and goals appear to be unattainable. Yet common problems provide us with similar experiences, experiences that we must share and review during these meetings, profiting from them with the permanent goal of always serving our nations, the true recipients of growth and progress.

A large number of recent studies agree that Latin America has excellent possibilities for achieving, in the medium-term, a political and social harmony that will allow the channeling of intellectual and productive forces toward a modern and prosperous society.

The many common identity elements we share, as well as our common cultural heritage, are factors that we must take advantage of to expedite the integration process in the hemisphere. This process must be jointly conducted in the region. It would be useless to engage in a lone fight against backwardness and poverty. This shortsighted vision is bound to fail. Modern political and economic concepts make it absolutely unthinkable today to conceive a promising future outside large, powerful blocs.

More than a century ago—or rather, a century and a half ago to be more precise, when the Mayo Association [a center of opposition to Juan Manuel de Rosas, a controversial governor of Buenos Aires in 1829-1832 and in 1835-1852], came into being in Buenos Aires, Argentine writer Esteban Echeverria said that there can be no progress without association. An association necessarily entails an alliance and a reconciliation of principles. Our strength is drawn from our analogous thoughts and action makes it possible for us, today, as we approach the end of the 20th century, to move with steady gait toward ultimately building more just societies; that is, societies that would reflect the much desired, but still neglected aspirations of our peoples.

Messrs. presidents; the continent's march toward integration is irreversible. We can either move ahead rapidly or slowly in this process. To a great extent, this depends on our political decision, on our perseverance and tenacity in implementing our actions, on our loyalty to the banners we have firmly raised, and on our clear resolve to design a new, fruitful future.

We must engage in a collective effort. Our watchword must be persuasion, which is often more effective than promotion in light of our natural bonds. Yet we must rise to the new challenges and requirements without losing our traditions. We would thus sincerely uphold our convictions and identical values. To this end we must consolidate and strengthen representative democracy.

Only under this system of political government will we be able to guarantee and to enrich our life in freedom, with full respect of human rights. Only under democracy can government branches fight corruption, always keeping in mind the interests of justice and equity to benefit our peoples.

If our countries do not remain on this course, the future of Latin America will be very dark. History will heavily place the responsibility for this on us, and rightly so, for having failed as leaders in the trust our peoples have placed in our governments. I thus urge you, Messrs. presidents, to work with your spirits and minds set on the peoples residing in our beloved Americas. They are watching us and expect us to find solutions to their problems.

Latin America and the Caribbean cannot remain mere spectators of a world that is moving toward a new international order. Latin America and the Caribbean must be major factors in future undertakings.

Allow me to conclude my speech with one of the many wise phrases uttered by our liberator, General Jose de San Martin. He said: Only unity and perseverance can give us strength to achieve victory. Without them, everything will perish.

We can give a new vision to our continent. All we need is the strength and the desire to do so. Again, I want to extend to you our most cordial welcome to our dear republic of Argentina. You may consider it your home and regard each Argentine as a true friend, a real brother. In this fashion, I hereby open the sixth presidential summit of the mechanism for consultation and political agreement of the Rio Group. May God bless you. Thank you very much. [applause]

Menem Phones Bush, Clinton on Behalf of Rio Group

PY0112222592 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 2113 GMT 1 Dec 92

[Text] Buenos Aires, 1 Dec (NA)—President Carlos Menem today had separate telephone conversations with U.S. President George Bush and President-elect Bill Clinton. They exchanged opinions regarding the need for cooperation and rapprochement between Latin America and the northern country.

Menem made his calls from the Alvear Hotel, site of the Sixth Conference of the Rio Group, acting as spokesman for the chiefs of state who are in Buenos Aires to participate in the conference.

The dialogues, in which a translator was used, were held between 1600 [1800 GMT] and 1700, and they caused a delay in the second meeting of the group.

According to Media Secretary Raul Burzaco, the Argentine president explained to his interlocuters the nature of the Rio Group and the reasons for the meeting in Buenos Aires.

At the beginning, the chiefs of state tried to maintain contact with the United States through a teleconference, but due to technical problems and President Bush's agenda, it was not possible.

According to Burzaco, Menem told Bush that he reaffirmed the friendship that unites them, and he lauded "the great successes that he obtained during his tenure, especially in the defense of the principles of the UN Charter in the case of the Persian Gulf War, the Middle East peace conference, the Initiative of the Americas, and the Four Plus One and NAFTA agreements."

During the dialogue, Bush and Menem exchanged opinions on the bilateral relations that the United States maintains with each member of the Rio Group, making special reference to the fact that the absence of Venezuela, where a coup occurred on 27 November, is being lamented.

Menem made it clear to Bush that the presidents of the Rio Group had solidly supported the defense of democracy in Venezuela.

Regarding the conversation with Bill Clinton, Burzaco stated that Menem had indicated the group's support for democracy, respect for human rights, the support for nonnuclear proliferation, a market economy, and cooperation policies, and the defense of the environment.

"We are partners and we must think of the future in this respect," Menem told Clinton, according to Burzaco.

When touching on the GATT's Uruguay Round, Menem reiterated the region's claims for the elimination of the subsidy policies that distort world trade.

Clinton expressed to Menem his interest in meeting with the members of the Rio Group once he has assumed the presidency, saying it would be a good occasion to "evaluate the continent's problems and to seek ways to greater integration, not only in the economic sector, but also in the social sector, between the countries."

Call Provokes 'Uneasiness'

PY0212113692 Montevideo Radio El Espectador Network in Spanish 0830 GMT 2 Dec 92

[Text] Argentine President Carlos Menem's desire to assume the role of representative of the Rio Group in talks with U.S. leaders—both President Bush and President-elect Bill Clinton—provoked an atmosphere of uneasiness yesterday at the opening of the Rio Group summit in Buenos Aires.

Several countries expressed opposition to President Menem's position. Mexico was quite adamant about its opposition. Menem did not receive support to act as a spokesman or representative of the Group, but nevertheless held telephone conversations both with Bush and Clinton.

'Discomfort' Expressed Over Call

PY0412121392 Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 3 Dec 92 p 24

[Text] Buenos Aires—A satellite teleconference between the Rio Group presidents and U.S. President George Bush and President-elect Bill Clinton, which sought to be one of the high points of the Rio Group summit, has become a source of discomfort.

Several delegations have said that the visiting presidents had not been warned about the teleconference and that they disagreed with it. The teleconference was not successful, having been suspended because of alleged technical problems. The solution was worse than the problem. President Carlos Menem abandoned the

summit for 40 minutes to speak with Bush and Clinton, leaving his guests unattended.

The discomfort was evident on 1 December, during the party at the grounds of the Argentine Rural Society [SRA]. The party was a major event since it included a horse exhibition, musical bands, and a dinner. Everybody woke up early that morning and worked the whole day, and the two hour party planned by the hosts was too much. Under normal circumstances, the presidents would have made an effort to applaud the exhibition with more enthusiasm and conceal better their boredom. President Itamar Franco was one of those who, after yawning somewhat obviously several times, left the party before dinner was served.

On 2 December, alleging that he needed to meet with Brazilian Foreign Minister Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Itamar did not attend the farewell luncheon. Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari and Paraguayan President Andres Rodriguez did not attend the luncheon and sent their ambassadors to Argentina to the event.

There was only one lighthearted moment amid this whole diplomatic mess, about which the participants were officially unaware. On 1 December, at the SRA fairgrounds, it was solemnly announced that the fireworks planned for the end of the party had been suspended. The announcer said: "Since we are all in favor of protecting the environment, there will be no fireworks because a hippopotamus is about the be born nearby."

The zoo is a few meters from the SRA fairgrounds, and their administrators have never forgotten about a giraffe called Lili that died of a heart attack during a sound test for a Luciano Pavarotti concert.

Venezuelan President Sends Letter to Summit

PY0212144792 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1716 GMT 1 Dec 92

[Text] Buenos Aires, 1 Dec (NA)—Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez has stated that the situation in his country "has completely returned to normal," noting that those who staged the coup on 27 November "were members of a group who, by blood and gunfire, wanted to take power and terminate the Venezuelan democratic system."

This statement is included in a letter that Perez sent today to the presidents attending the sixth Rio Group presidential meeting in this city. In his letter, Perez reiterates his country's willingness to continue as a member of the consultation and accord organization—the Rio Group—which he regardes as a "clear and unequivocal expression of the Latin American will to reach an accord."

In another paragraph, Perez describes to his colleagues "the criminal cruelty of the insurrection," explaining that officers, soldiers, and civilians "were mercilessly murdered."

The Venezuelan president says: "Planes flown by members of the insurrection raided Miraflores Palace and countless civilian targets. They did not hesitate to raid the Military Aviation School, an area that is always respected because it houses Air Force cadets."

He states that his government witnessed "the real magnitude of the continent's solidarity in defense of democracy," adding that "we cannot allow those who attempt to usurp power to ignore the essential principles of power, like the Constitution and respect for the people's will."

Perez emphatically thanks the Group of Rio officials who issued a statement against the coup attempt, saying that "the difficult test through which we have gone is a clear warning for the whole of Latin America."

He concludes: "Whenever a country loses its democracy, each one of our nations also loses something essential. Whenever a nation achieves democracy, all of our nations share the benefits of such victory."

Venezuela's Ocha Notes 'Instability' in Region

PY0212210092 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1620 GMT 1 Dec 92

[Text] Buenos Aires, 1 Dec (EFE)—Venezuelan Foreign Minister Fernando Ochoa Antich said here today that the frustrated coup attempt in his country "shows that the political systems in the area still have instability risks."

He added that "this instability has led all Ibero-American chiefs of state and governments to strongly reject this type of attack against democracy, in a joint effort to defend it."

Ochoa Antich is in Buenos Aires attending the Rio Group summit on behalf of Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez, who preferred to stay home.

The Venezuelan foreign minister added that his country will ask for the extradition of the officers who took part in the coup and who were granted political asylum by Peru.

"The Peruvian Government has the right of granting asylum to the insurgents, a decision that should be based on an evaluation of the possible involvement in a political crime and in common crimes linked to that political crime," Ochoa Antich said.

He added, however, that "this decision will in no way affect Peruvian-Venezuelan relations."

The events that occurred in Venezuela "were so serious that they may have no political justification whatsoever, despite the fact that our country is facing some difficulties," he emphasized.

He said that "there are no chances whatsoever for President Perez, who has again given testimony of his political leadership, to end his term early."

The Venezuelan Government "has total, absolute control over the situation in the country, even among the military," Ochoa Antich said.

Mexican President Discusses Democratization

PA0212201892 Mexico City Canal 13 Television Network in Spanish 1300 GMT 2 Dec 92

[Report by Roberto Garduno]

[Text] Contacts among the presidents attending the Rio Group meeting began in the morning at the government palace. Argentine President Carlos Raul Menem welcomed the presidents. Afterward they held their first round of private meetings. They also posed for the traditional official photograph. In officially inaugurating the meeting, President Menem warned that the task of reinforcing democracy is arduous and complex, and it would be useless for Latin American countries to try to deny backwardness and poverty.

[Begin Menem recording] Only under this political system can we guarantee and enrich the possibilities offered by life in freedom, with full respect for human rights. Only under the aegis of democracy do we promote the independent actions of public powers in the war against corruption. [end recording]

Assessing the results of the Rio Group's first plenary meeting, held at the Alvear Palace Hotel in Buenos Aires, Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari said democracy in Latin America is going through its finest moment, despite the economic and political problems looming over the region.

[Begin Salinas recording] I want to insist before you, as I said a short while ago in my speech before the Rio Group—and this is linked to the process of democratization in our country and the rest of Latin America—there is no true democracy without a social program. In order for the democratic process to become consolidated and to advance, there must be a solution to the people's most heartfelt problems. Second, there is no true democracy without adhering to constitutional order and the rule of law. [end recording]

The Mexican president recalled Latin American has a long-standing tradition of talking in favor of integration but has been highly ineffectual in practice. The goal of the Rio Group and other multilateral forums is to take advantage of experience.

[Begin Salinas recording] We find the places and means to speak a great deal about our national experiences and share them that way. Without trying to establish models or making exclusive claims, we can take advantage of the experiences of each Latin American country for the benefit of the others. [end recording]

In this context, the meeting of 11 Latin American presidents and heads of state took place establishing consensus and listening to differences. A joint communique by the Rio Group is expected on 2 December that will contain major stances on respect for democracy, the values of democracy and sovereignty, and the creation of ties that increase Latin American integration.

Uruguayan President Comments on 'Crisis'

PY0312133492 Montevideo Radio El Espectador Network in Spanish 0830 GMT 2 Dec 92

[Text] Speaking yesterday at the sixth presidential summit of the Rio Group, Uruguayan President Luis Alberto Lacalle stated that the crisis confronting Latin American democracies is twofold—physiological and pathological.

Participants of the summit told the daily EL OBSERVADOR that Lacalle warned that unless every country solves its socioeconomic problems and builds full-fledged democracies, the democratic system will experience serious trouble. The same sources reported that during his 10 minute speech, Lacalle pointed out that regional democracy is experiencing a physiological and pathological crisis.

By physiological crisis Lacalle means the crisis confronting the democratic system. By way of example, Lacalle mentioned the difficult situation that Brazil is currently facing, a situation which Brazilians are trying to surmount within the legal and institutional framework provided by a democratic system of government.

By pathological crisis, Lacalle means that which takes place outside the democratic system, clearly alluding to the Peruvian situation and the latest developments in Venezuela.

Jamaican Prime Minister States Caricom Case

FL0312004992 Bridgetown CANA in English 2218 GMT 2 Dec 92

[Text] Kingston, Jamaica, Dec 2, CANA—Even while urging the deepening of economic cooperation in Latin America and the Caribbean, Jamaica's Prime Minister P.J. Patterson has cautioned that Caribbean countries need time to "adjust and modernise our economies in order to become internationally competitive."

Patterson told heads of government at the Rio Group summit in Buenos Aires, Argentina this week that economic cooperation in trade, investment, capital inflows, technology, the information process, communication, and transport should be deepened among Latin American and Caribbean countries.

But Patterson also said that with the advent of international trading blocs, Caribbean countries had to be careful that special concessionary trading arrangements worked out over the years with more powerful economies were not changed so rapidly as to lead to the collapse of their economic and social stability. His

comments appeared partially aimed at the current disagreement between African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) countries and Central American banana producers on the marketing of bananas in a united Europe.

ACP banana producers are seeking the retention of quota protection in Europe, negotiated under the Lome Convention. The Central Americans are calling for the replacement of the quota system with what they consider a more "just" tariff system. Caribbean banana producers fear that without the protection of a quota system, they would be wiped out by cheap Central American fruit, produced with cheap labour on large plantations.

"We in the Caribbean are small in size, in population, and geographic span. We are vulnerable in every sense of the word. Many of us are striving to emerge from a history of colonial economies. We need (time) to adjust and modernise our economies in order to become internationally competitive," the Jamaican prime minister was reported by the official news agency Jampress as saying.

Patterson is representing the 13 member countries of the Caribbean Community (Caricom) at the meeting. Heads of government from the host country as well as Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Honduras, Paraguay, and Mexico are also there. Patterson urged that in their search for economic independence and self-sustaining growth, countries of the region should ensure that whatever problems arose are settled through "meaningful and friendly" dialogue as external solutions could only be to the detriment of the region. He also joined other leaders in condemning last week's coup attempt in Venezuela.

Chilean Minister Rejects Torricelli Bill

PY0212124192 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1514 GMT 1 Dec 92

[Text] Buenos Aires, 1 Dec (TELAM)—Chilean Foreign Minister Enrique Silva Cimma today rejected the economic and commercial blockade of Cuba and the implementation of the so-called "Torricelli Bill," which was sanctioned by the U.S. Congress. He said: "We reject it because it aggravates the situation" on the Caribbean island.

Silva Cimma attended the first day of the Rio Group presidential summit. Today, he granted a news conference at which he commented on his country's position regarding the main topics of the group's agenda.

Regarding the situation in Cuba and the continuity of Fidel Castro's regime, he said the recovery of democracy on the island "is a domestic problem" of Cuba. However, he added that although the recent reform of the electoral law "is not enough," Santiago "celebrates it as an achievement."

Silva Cimma said that the recent events in Venezuela, Peru, and Haiti "do not represent a setback in the political evolution of the Latin American continent. On the contrary, we perceive a gradual recovery of the democratic process," he said

He said that Chile gives "special emphasis to the defense of the democratic system of government." This is why, at the Rio Group foreign ministers' meeting held yesterday, "we suggested adopting preventive measures instead of drafting documents after the event."

Silva Cimma promised that his country's government will support the Argentine Foreign Ministry's proposal to reform the OAS Charter to include a clause establishing that countries that do not ensure the continuity of their democracies will be expelled from the OAS.

The Chilean minister also reported that his country is "about to sign an agreement with the United States within the framework of President Bush's Americas Initiative and the North American Free Trade Agreement."

According to Silva Cimma, "this would be a great victory for Chile and the most brilliant culmination of the negotiation process that began in 1990 and which has already been ratified by President-elect Bill Clinton."

Duran-Ballen: Social Problems 'Top Priority'

PY0212211492 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1733 GMT 1 Dec 92

[Text] Buenos Aires, 1 Dec (EFE)—Ecuadoran President Sixto Duran-Ballen announced today that at the Rio Group presidential summit, his country will give top priority to focusing on and finding a solution to the social problems affecting the peoples of the region.

The chiefs of state of member countries of the Standing Committee for Consultation and Political Rapprochement [Mecanismo Permanente de Consulta y Concertacion Politica], or the Rio Group, started a two-day summit today in which they will discuss, among other things, the current situation in Venezuela in the wake of the thwarted coup attempt last week and the Constituent Assembly elections in Peru on 22 November.

They also will study the progress of the GATT Uruguay Round and the eventual reform of the OAS Charter.

Other items on the agenda include the Torricelli Law passed by the U.S. Congress, which provides for the tightening of the embargo on trade with Cuba, and Latin American relations with the new U.S. Democratic administration of President-elect Bill Clinton.

Duran-Ballen underlined the fact that "these are all important issues, but for Ecuador the one that takes precedence over the rest, and that we will bring up at the summit, is the social problems confronting the region's countries and the need to seek solutions to them right away."

Duran-Ballen, 71, also commented on Ecuador's stance vis-a-vis the need to ward off and forestall whatever actions that seek to alter the different democratic systems in Ibero-America.

OAS Baena Soares on Need To Reduce Poverty

PY0312142392 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1933 GMT 1 Dec 92

[Text] Buenos Aires, 1 Dec (NA)—OAS Secretary General Joao Baena Soares has publicly condemned the coup attempt in Venezuela, though he warned that "to have strong democracies we must reduce levels of poverty and meet the social demands of the people."

He added: "Our peoples must feel that democracy will solve their problems, that it not only guarantees freedom and civil and political rights but their social and economic rights as well."

Baena Soares made this statement during a press conference after the first working meeting of the presidents of the Rio Group member countries at the Alvear Palace Hotel in Buenos Aires.

Baena Soares also endorsed the Argentine proposal to amend the OAS charter to include a provision whereby any country in which democracy is curtailed will be suspended from the OAS.

This topic will be discussed at the upcoming OAS General Assembly to be held in Washington on 14 December.

Baena Soares underscored the fact that "the OAS meeting to amend its Charter is important for the defense of the democratic system. The goal is to review its means to respond with more firmness and authority to situations that affect democracies."

He said that the reform, which is also being analyzed by the Group of Rio, is part of an OAS renovation based on the Declaration of Santiago in 1991 which outlined mechanisms to respond to antidemocratic situations.

"We must repudiate any coup attempt. We have had enough coups," said the Brazilian diplomat, adding that democracy "must be present in the consciences of our peoples."

He said that the efforts of the organization he presides must be aimed at the people, ensuring that the issue of democracy is not discussed only by governments.

"The discussion must necessarily include the people's interest in [word indistinct]," Baena Soares said.

Final Document Prepared for Foreign Ministers

PY0112202792 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1021 GMT 1 Dec 92

[Text] Buenos Aires, 1 Dec (NA)—The foreign ministers of 11 of the 13 countries that comprise the Rio Group have agreed upon the terms of a document that will be submitted to the presidents for discussion tomorrow. The document includes, among other things, a declaration against the economic blockade on Cuba, the need to increase the Peruvian democratization process, and clear support for the democratic system in Venezuela.

After two meetings at the Alvear Palace Hotel, the venue for the Rio Group discussions, Uruguayan Foreign Minister Hector Gros Espiell yesterday announced that, like at the Cartagena de Indias summit of December 1991, the Buenos Aires final document expresses the wish that the Fidel Castro regime will implement opening measures in both the economic and political fields.

According to the Uruguayan diplomat, who acted as spokesman for the group of ministers, the declaration will condemn the (?lack of jurisdiction) of the laws of any state. In practice, this passage represents a rejection of the so-called Torricelli Bill (?passed) by the U.S. Congress which imposes economic sanctions on Cuba.

Asked about the possibility that Peru (?will rejoin) the Rio Group, from which it was excluded after Alberto Fujimori's self-imposed coup, Gros Espiell said agreement was reached on emphasizing as "a positive element" the constituent elections held on 22 November." [quotation marks as received]

"Nevertheless, reference is made to the need to continue the democratization process," Gros Espiell added.

In this regard, Gros Espiell announced that Peru's advancements toward the full reinstatement of the democratic system will also be reviewed during the upcoming OAS assembly scheduled in Washington from 14 to 16 December.

The declaration that will be submitted to the presidents, who begin meeting in this capital today, confirms Rio Group support for the democratic system in Venezuela where on 25 November occurred a civilian-military uprising that was finally quashed by the government of social democratic President Carlos Andres Perez.

While addressing the Venezuelan issue, Gros Espiell incidentally addressed the issue of corruption by stating that the document "emphasizes the need for ethics within a democratic system." "For us, it represents a new topic on which there was much discussion," he noted.

The Buenos Aires declaration will also address the so-called "critical poverty" issue, emphasizing the "need for a head-on attack against this scourge that debilitates democratic systems."

With respect to the Uruguay Round of GATT, the foreign ministers agreed to include a passage emphasizing the need to implement "an institutional legal framework for international trade that will respect the multilateral, free, and non-discriminatory nature of

trade, with an appropriate opening of the markets to basic products from Latin American and Caribbean countries."

Another topic discussed in the document concerns the Haitian case and the frustration of the Rio Group countries "over the failure of all the negotiations to restore democracy in Haiti."

The Uruguayan diplomat noted: "While the OAS negotiations in Peru were successful and decisive in the process of democratic restoration, virtually no advancement has been achieved in Haiti."

In this regard, Gros Espiell pointed out that in Haiti this issue "is extremely complicated because the economic embargo is violated by many countries. There is everything in Haiti and everything enters Haiti. The problem is to pay for it and the people are the only ones who suffer."

Rio Group Issues 'Buenos Aires Declaration'

PY0312004392 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1924 GMT 2 Dec 92

[Text] Buenos Aires, 2 Dec (TELAM)—In a joint document approved after two days of deliberations in this capital, 11 Rio Group chiefs of state today reiterated their commitment to democracy in the continent, their solidarity with the Venezuelan Government, and they likewise demanded a political and economic opening in Cuba.

The presidents of the group of 13 Latin American and Caribbean countries also agree to strengthen the regional and subregional economic integration processes. This subject has been among the priorities discussed during the summit that began yesterday and ended today at noon in the Alvear Palace Hotel.

The long document, containing 32 points and unanimously approved, also contains the governments' commitment to implement market economy programs "with a social content," something that already is being applied in the region, as well as to establish mechanisms to "eliminate the conditions of poverty and destitution that affect many countries."

The "Buenos Aires Declaration" was signed by 11 of the 13 president members of this political consultation mechanism, except for Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez, who was unable to travel to Argentina on account of a coup attempt, and President Alberto Fujimori from Peru, which has been temporarily suspended.

The document was signed by Presidents Carlos Menem from Argentina, Jaime Paz Zamora from Bolivia, Itamar Franco from Brazil, Patricio Aylwin from Chile, Cesar Gaviria from Colombia, Sixto Duran-Ballen from Ecuador, Rafael Callejas from Honduras, Percival Patterson from Jamaica, Carlos Salinas de Gortari from Mexico, Andres Rodriguez from Paraguay, and Luis Alberto Lacalle from Uruguay.

Among the document's resolutions, the presidents reiterated "their firm commitment to democracy and to the defense and full enforcement of human rights" in the continent. They likewise expressed their "solidarity" with the Venezuelan Government on account of the bloody military uprising that was defeated by the government on 27 November.

The presidents meeting in Buenos Aires also sent a letter to Perez reiterating their "total support" for his constitutional government, and they congratulated "his Armed Forces and the Venezuelan people for such a demonstration of loyalty to democracy and for the share of sacrifice with which they resisted the coup."

Regarding the situation in Cuba and following the same terms of the previous Rio Group declaration released in Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, in December 1991, the presidents demanded clear and concrete signals of political and economic opening by the Fidel Castro government.

They also expressed their "concern" with the attempts to "give an extraterritorial scope to the law of any country," implicitly meaning the "Torricelli Law" approved by the U.S. Congress establishing a trade blockade on Cuba that Washington wants obeyed by third countries.

The presidents also stressed the importance of the evolution of the regional integration process as "the only way to attain a free trade zone throughout Latin America," just like the zone created among the United States, Canada, and Mexico.

They also agreed to encourage Peru to again join the Rio Group—an initiative sponsored by Argentina—given the reports presented during the summit by OAS Secretary General Joao Baena Soares about the 22 November elections in Peru.

The Peruvian elections, in which the citizenry elected representatives to a national constituent assembly, were considered by the presidents as "an important step toward the reestablishment of democracy and respect for human rights."

As for the situation in Haiti, the 11 presidents promised "to support the reestablishment of the constitutional government" of overthrown President Jean Bertrand Aristide, as well as the measures adopted within the OAS and UN frameworks regarding Haiti.

In another part of the document, the presidents expressed support for the Argentine proposal to make changes in the OAS charter during the 16th OAS General Assembly that will take place in Washington from 14 to 16 December in order to "revitalize the inter-American system."

The Argentine proposal, which has been approved by the rest of the countries of the region through this declaration, aims at excluding from the OAS those countries whose democratic system is interrupted.

As for expectations on the results of the Uruguay Round of GATT talks, the presidents demanded to "definitively establish a free, stable, transparent, and nondiscriminatory international trade" system and they warned against the "dangers that protectionist measures" in some regional blocs "represent."

Overall, the presidents warned against the "serious consequences of the production, trafficking, and consumption of drugs." They also agreed to implement mechanisms "to combat terrorism and corruption," and they likewise rejected expressions of racism and xenophobia, as well as the reappearance of ethnic and religious conflicts in several parts of the world.

The evolution of relations between the United States and Latin America was discussed yesterday afternoon after telephone talks were held between the Argentine president and U.S. President George Bush and President-elect Bill Clinton, to whom Menem, in the name of the Rio Group presidents, explained the objectives of this consultation mechanism.

The deliberations, which ended today at noon, began yesterday morning, after which three working meeting were held during which the presidents agreed upon the subjects included in the final declaration.

Menem Closes Sixth Rio Group Meeting

PY0212183692 Buenos Aires Radio Nacional Network in Spanish 1335 GMT 2 Dec 92

[Speech by Argentine President Carlos Menem during closing session of sixth Rio Group meeting at the Alvear Palace Hotel in Buenos Aires—live]

[Text] Messrs. Presidents, Mr. Prime Minister of Jamaica, Messrs. Foreign Ministers, Messrs. Ambassadors, ladies and gentlemen, brothers and sisters of Latin America:

At the closing ceremony of the sixth presidential summit of the permanent mechanism for political consultation and consensus of the Rio Group, I would like to thank you for your illustrious presence in this Argentine land, which is also your land.

I am convinced that this sixth Rio Group meeting has been successful. It is ending with really significant and far-reaching achievements.

In the communique which we will immediately release, all Latin American nations—and obviously all the nations of the world—will learn what we want for our continent with the processes that we are implementing in this vast territory, from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego. Such processes seek to achieve regional integration and the opening of free-trade zones, in order to determinedly move—as we are doing now—toward continental integration or, as we said on other occasions, toward continentalism.

Our debates have been really clear. We have unrestrictedly expressed ourselves, as befits men of democracy and freedom. In the communique to which I refer, you will see that practically no issue—among those on which we have focused our concern—has been ignored by the presidents and our assistants.

As in Cartagena de Indias and in previous meetings, we have prepared the way for next meeting. Next year, on 15 and 16 October, we will meet again in the sister Republic of Chile.

Some of those who have attended this sixth meeting will obviously be absent. The moving and gratifying farewell to my dear friend the President of the Republic of Paraguay encourages us to continue to work on the basis of the model that we have slowly built to establish free trade zones and to promote integration, in a process that—I will reiterate—leads toward continentalism.

Other men will come, because this is obviously the essence of democracy. Yet I am sure that the need to unite and to form partnerships—to work for a better future for our children and grandchildren, for this generation and for future generations—has taken deep and strong roots in the soul, the ideas, and the feelings of our people and of those who govern us.

This coincides with the definition that Aristotle gave to politics: The science of sciences, that tends to the common good. A simpler definition—although the previous definition is also simple—says that politics is the art of things that are possible.

I believe that from this true sacrifice—because politics is actually a sacrifice—we are intensively working to meet, to the extent possible, the pressing needs of our communities. Such needs are not few, but they can obviously be overcome and can be given a positive answer. That is the politician's role, to work for his people instead of using the people for other purposes.

I reiterate that this is the positive, significant meaning of this science, of this art.

I know we will continue to work intensively, so that in year 2000 we can be already integrated. Next year we might be better than we are now. I believe this will happen. Here we have listened to the authoritative words of presidents and secretaries of national and international organizations, especially dealing with Latin America.

The indicators are auspicious. The growth and development indexes of our communities are positive. To the extent that we intensify this effort, which we set in motion a long time ago, things will be much better and beneficial for our communities and for our countries.

I would like to once again thank you, with all frankness, appreciation and affection, for your presence and for your cordiality during these brief hours of your stay in the Argentine Republic.

I reiterate what I said at the beginning, when I opened this meeting: Argentina is your land, and you will find a true brother in each Argentine. I wish you a happy return to your respective countries, to your homelands. From Argentina, may you receive an embrace from the heart of each Argentine for all inhabitants of Latin America. May God bless you. Thank you, very much. [applause]

Menem, Others Hold News Conference

PY0212204692 Buenos Aires Argentina Televisora Color Network in Spanish 1430 GMT 2 Dec 92

[News conference by Argentine President Carlos Menem, Chilean President Patricio Aylwin, and Colombian President Cesar Gaviria, moderated by Presidential Media Secretary Raul Burzaco, with foreign correspondents and domestic reporters at the Palais de Glace hall in Buenos Aires—live; all journalists' names rendered phonetically]

[Text] [Burzaco] Mr. Reyes Razo, of Mexico EXCELSIOR will ask the first question and Mr. William Restrepo, of Colombia's Caracol Network, will ask the second question. Mr. Reyes Razo, you can now ask your question.

[Brito] Good evening Mr. President; there has been a mistake; I am Andres Brito of NOVEDADES [no country given]. There is a worrisome situation here. There has been some talk about a schism within the Rio Group as a result of disagreements between some of the presidents concerning a telephone call made to the U.S. President. What is your opinion? How much of this is true? How important is the Rio Group for Latin American integration?

[Menem] First of all, I want you to disregard this fanciful and groundless rumor disseminated in bad faith. If you all take a look at the surprised faces of the presidents who accompany me on this occasion, you will conclude that there are some people who report things because they have to say something, not because they care about the truth. There are no disagreements on this matter. On the contrary, President Clinton issued a communique in the United States confirming the dialogue that we held yesterday, a dialogue which has been interesting, significant, and meaningful to the policies that the United States has implemented toward Latin America.

This Rio Group, which will meet again in Santiago, Chile, on 16 and 17 October [no year given] is, in my opinion, significant for this integration process that is taking place in Latin America and the entire American continent. When we speak about integration, we are not only talking of integration at our level such as the Mercosur [Common Market of the South], the Andean Pact, and Central America, or about proposals for regional free trade starting from the U.S. proposal to establish freedom of trade from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego, but also about projects that already have been implemented such as the case of NAFTA [North American Free Trade Agreement], which we wholeheartedly support to the point of making reference to it in the communique you will receive in a few moments, if you have not received it already.

Therefore, please disregard this rumor you have mentioned because it is clumsy, groundless, fanciful and ill-intentioned, and bear in mind what I just told you about the Rio Group.

[Burzaco] The second question will be by Mr. Willian Restrepo of Colombia's Red Caracol. Then Maria Teresa Guerra of Chile's Television Nacional. Go ahead Mr. Restrepo.

[Restrepo] Argentina and Venezuela were among the first countries to support Peru's ouster from the Rio Group after Alberto Fujimori's self-inflicted coup. Venezuela severed diplomatic relations with Peru and now Peru grants political asylum to military officers involved in an attack against democracy in Venezuela. In this context, why is Argentina sponsoring Peru's return to the Rio Group.

[Menem] I do not think Argentina is alone in this stance. I beg of you to take into consideration the communique we issued today. The topic is perfectly clear in the communique. Let us not forget that Argentina sponsored Peru's ouster when President Fujimori unilaterally and rather dictatorially dissolved one of the essential pillars of democracy: the Peruvian Congress. But today he is fulfilling what he promised and he is restoring the presence of a congress. We are sponsoring Peru's return based on this auspicious event and the reports we have received from international organizations, especially the OAS. But Argentina is not alone. We all agreed on Peru's ouster and now we all agree that Peru should be able to return once the democratic question is solved. But everything depends on the Peruvian Government's position in this situation.

[Burzaco] At the end of this news conference, that is, at 1315, you will have copies of the Rio Group's final communique. Next we will hear Maria Teresa Guerra of Chile's Television Nacional and then Ovidio Mediando of LA NACION of Buenos Aires.

[Guerra] Mr. President, I would like to ask you, how does the Rio Group deal with the signs of corruption in some Latin American governments, because they affect the system's credibility?

[Menem] If we are going to analyze those aspects, we also will have to analyze other questions affecting democracy. We must talk about the positive aspects. We cannot be permanently on the defensive. We cannot fail to recognize that Latin America, the members of the Rio Group, have made progress not only in the political field by reasserting their political will to defend democracy and freedom, but also have applied this democracy and freedom to the handling of economic and social issues. Economic growth, for instance, will be an answer to this other scourge affecting Latin America and the world: poverty and extreme poverty. The aspect you mentioned

is of great concern to us. The fight against corruption is the decision of each one of the states. We always have talked about the problem. I mentioned it in my inaugural message to the nation. The presidents also referred to the topic during the debate. They also referred to poverty and other problems, but also to other positive aspects that will help consolidate and significantly project democratic life and freedoms in the continent and in Rio Group member countries.

[Burzaco] Next is Ovidio Mediando and then Erberto Montano Rosales of Radio Fides of La Paz.

[Mediando] The U.S. president-elect, when talking with you as the Rio Group representative, defined for the first time his government's attitude to cooperation with Latin America. What is your opinion of the time chosen by Clinton to make his remarks, who more or less said that he will place more emphasis than his predecessor on cooperation with this region? I would like the three presidents to answer this question.

[Menem] I think President-elect Clinton's position is in accordance with the permanent U.S. position with respect to dialogue and the decisions affecting countries like ours in Latin America, and countries like ours that are integrating. I recall President Bush saying that it would be a lot easier for the United States to have a dialogue with a group of countries, without hurting its bilateral dialogue with each country, of course. But for this type of situation, dialogue with the regions, or with member countries of an integrated region, are preferable.

This has always been the U.S. policy, and this policy has been accentuated by the current free trade process with Mexico and Canada, or as you remember when the Mercosur foreign ministers signed the (Four Plus One Pact) with President George Bush in the Rose Garden in the United States.

Therefore, this is the explanation that can be given to the comments made by President-elect Bill Clinton ratifying and conveying that he will strengthen the U.S. policies currently in force toward Latin America and the regions being created in Latin America.

I would now like to give an opportunity to the presidents of Colombia and Chile to give their answer.

[Gaviria] I feel President-elect Bill Clinton's message is significant. There is absolutely no doubt that the policy of President Bush toward Latin America was perhaps one of his most successful policies because, primarily, it created a new relationship between Latin America and the United States. The current positive and constructive relationship between the United States and Latin America has never been better. Current relations are not so much conditioned by aspects of a political nature or by a simple projection of the Cold War, but are based on commerce and investment, which are of an economic nature.

From the economic point of view, the United States has never depended so much as now on Latin America. This is why there is an initiative to establish a major trade agreement throughout the Americas, and the environment for such an agreement in Latin America is quite favorable. Therefore, the fact that President-elect Clinton said that relations will be strengthened even further is an important declaration because it shows a continuity in U.S. foreign policy toward Latin America. And I believe that the talk Clinton held with President Carlos Menem in which Clinton stated his position should be well received by all of us. I believe it is a factor of tranquility that the relations between the new U.S. administration and Latin America will continue on the same path of strengthening mainly commercial relations, of not depending on merely aid offers or offers to resolve military or political problems. Relations will be mainly oriented toward strengthening economic relations, which is the real interest of Latin America.

[Aylwin] I agree with the answers given by Presidents Menem and Gaviria, and I would like to emphasize that I believe the comments made by President-elect Clinton are good for our countries. I believe Clinton's comments were made at an appropriate time, when the Rio Group presidents are meeting here in Buenos Aires to discuss the problems affecting us, specifically economic integration. I do not believe the time chosen for his comments can be criticized. In your question you talked about the time chosen for the comments. I think I see in your question something like why Clinton did not make that statement earlier. I do not know if that is what you meant. The truth is, as I see it, that foreign policy did not play a key role in the U.S. electoral campaign, therefore the issues that interested the voters had to do with domestic problems and those are the issues that the candidates addressed. This is why neither Clinton nor Bush discussed this specific issue. I believe the time chosen is satisfactory for us, and, as President Gaviria said, the fact that President-elect Clinton will continue and strengthen the favorable policy of President Bush toward Latin America is reassuring.

[Menem] I will complete the answer. The journalist who asked the question works for a prestigious Argentine newspaper. I want to remind you that this is not the first time President-elect Clinton has commented on the issue. In a conversation he had with me, and which has been reported by LA NACION newspaper, Clinton referred to the issue. Nonetheless, your question gives us an opportunity to have capable and talented men, such as the presidents of Chile and Colombia, who are democracy defenders, answering it. Thank you very much.

[Burzaco] Herber Montano Rosales, of La Paz Radio Fides and PRESENCIA newspaper. The following question will be asked by Mr. Jose Galeano, of UNITED PRESS. First, Mr. Rosales.

[Rosales] Mr. President, it is well known that in governmental matters it is impossible to separate the economy from politics. I have been told by other presidents that

the economic issues, like all others, have been profoundly and frankly analyzed. To what extent has the implementation in our countries of the so-called readjustment plans been discussed? To what extent have the presidents analyzed the social cost of said plans and their consequences on the most destitute strata of society?

[Menem] Well, this issue also is included in the document you will receive. I want to tell you, however, that we have discussed the matter and we have decided, almost unanimously, to continue implementing these plans, which seek to reorganize the government and to deepen the measures being adopted in the economic field. Practically all of us—I can't say all of us because we have to discuss the subject with each one of the presidents, and this fact is included in the communique—agree on the need to adopt the market economy, be it called social economy, people's economy, or market economy. We all agree on the need to reorganize the administration and to reestablish the balance of the fiscal accounts. We are all working on that.

Nonetheless, I have a different opinion on what exactly is an adjustment. I believe that a real adjustment, an arbitrary and unfair adjustment, occurs when the democratic system and the economy do not function. I can tell you that here in Argentina we have had a dreadful period of adjustments when our economy was in a chaos, when our democracy was being jeopardized, when hyperinflation and inflation surpassed 200 percent per month or 26,000 percent per year. This is what I call a real adjustment or readjustment. What we are doing now is merely making our economy clearer and more open through the implementation of political decisions.

Adjustment or readjustment is what we used to have in Latin America in the past. I take the situation in the Argentine Republic as an example. It used to be a real adjustment the way hyperinflation directly affected the worker's pocket. In addition to all that, there was corruption. From 1979 to 1989, there have been real adjustments in Argentina, and I believe that the same occurred in other Latin American countries when the government administered the state-owned companies that are now being privatized. Do you know how much the deficit of these companies totalled in the Argentine Republic from 1979 to 1989? Nearly $60 billion. This is what we can call a real adjustment or readjustment, and this sort of corruption had to be financed by the people. This is why I believe there is no other alternative: We must continue doing what we are doing now, and this conviction is reflected in the communique that will be in your hands in a few more minutes.

[Burzaco] Now, Mr. Jose Galeano of UNITED PRESS will ask a question, followed by that of Mr. Fernando Rodriguez of FOLHA DE SAO PAULO. It is your turn, Mr. Galeano.

[Burzaco] Mr. Jose Galeano of UNITED PRESS now will ask his question. Fernando Rodriguez of FOLHA DE SAO PAULO must get ready for the next question. Go ahead, Mr. Galeano.

[Galeano] Mr. President, I would like to concretely refer to the Cuban situation. A few days before the Rio Group summit, Argentina seemed to maintain an extreme position. I am not yet aware of the final declaration's content. But what I would like to ask you is whether the Argentine position is somehow reflected in that declaration and if perhaps, in my judgment, it represents a new failure for the Argentine position regarding Cuba.

[Menem] I do not think we can talk about failures in the policies we are implementing. In this communique, we ratify what we already stated in Cartagena de India, in Colombia, on the occasion of the fifth Rio Group summit. We ask in that communique, or rather, we demand from Commander Fidel Castro the quick democratization of Cuba. That is the group's position, which I think is good. But Argentina also has its own position, which I am not saying only here. I have been saying this in all conferences where Mr. Fidel Castro was present. Free, democratic peoples, nations, or states can no longer tolerate the dictatorship under which the Cuban people live. We have fiercely fought dictatorships in Argentina, in Chile, and in Paraguay. What difference is there between those dictatorships and the Cuban dictatorship? Therefore, let us not be hypocritical and without harming the Cuban people to the extent possible, let us use the means available to struggle against that dictatorship until the Cuban people, after 33 years of bearing this cross, are able to choose their own institutions and leaders.

[Burzaco] Mr. Fernando Rodriguez of FOLHA DE SAO PAULO now will ask his question. The next question will be by Mr. Ulises Lencinas of Telefe, Buenos Aires. Go ahead, Mr. Rodriguez.

[Unidentified reporter] Our colleague from FOLHA DE SAO PAULO is not present Mr. Burzaco.

[Burzaco] He is not? Well, then, Mr. Ulises Lencinas will ask his question. Mr. Tony Leon of Paraguay's Radio Primero de Marzo must get ready for the next question.

[Lencinas] Thank you. Mr. President, in light of the meetings held at the continental level, such as the Rio Group, the Andean Pact, and Mercosur countries, was an analysis made of the possibility of reorganizing the OAS' functioning?

[Menem] Well, this has been an Argentine proposal, of reorganizing the OAS, especially concerning democracy and freedom. Argentina is for an immediate separation from the OAS of those countries that do not live in democracy and freedom. For instance, and thank God it did not happen, had the criminal and terrorist coup succeeded in Venezuela, which took the lives of more than 500 Venezuelans, whether soldiers, civilians, children, and adults, you can rest assured that Argentina would have fought for the immediate separation of Venezuela from the OAS until democracy and freedom were recovered. This is what the Argentine Republic is proposing.

In addition to this, I want to add that beginning with the new organizations existing in the continent, the Mercosur, the Andean Pact, the Central American organization, and the NAFTA treaty, we think that we must make these new organizations compatible with the organizations that already are in effect, such as ALADI [Latin American Integration Association] and SELA [Latin American Economic System], and all organizations with which we already are familiar in Latin America. This is something we talked about at the very end of this conference.

[Burzaco] The next question will be by Mr. Tony Leon from Radio Primero de Marzo, Paraguay, and after him will come Marcelo Cantelmi from REUTERS news agency. Tony Leon? He is not around? Well, then it will be Marcelo Cantelmi from REUTERS.

[Cantelmi] Mr. President, I wanted to again discuss the economic adjustments. Several statements were made yesterday, including by the OAS secretary general, about the cost of the economic adjustment in Latin America. I would like to know how you think this adjustment—which has become fashionable in the region in the past few years and which seems to be worrisome because of its consequences for democracies in the region—must be humanized?

[Menem] Even the pope speaks of a humanized capitalism in the face of the resounding failure of Marxism in theory and practice; I would say that the best way to make progress in this field is to increase everything that means production and work—more production, more work—and, of course, based on this, an attitude of equity in the distribution of what is produced based on the homo faber [as heard] and homo sapiens. I do not have another formula to offer you. This is what we are doing in many countries of the world.

Now, despite having used this model, the developed countries still have poor people. Poverty has increased in those countries, like in the United States, which is suffering a remarkable recession, and like in several Central European countries. However, according to information provided by the organizations to which I referred to—I ask you to please talk with IDB [Inter-American Development Bank] President Enrique Iglesias—you may verify through the figures he provided that Latin America has grown in the past few years and that great, successful growth is expected for it for the next few years. There is no other way. We want to grow but also to distribute fairly. This will depend on each of the governments of the countries where the situation the continental organizations and I referred to is taking place.

In order to go faster and since there remain only 30 questions, I ask you not to repeat the questions because the replies will be the same to a similar question.

[Burzaco] Mr. Roberto Garduno of Mexico Channel 13 will ask the next question. He will be followed by Mr. De la Masa Leniz of Chile's television Channel Megavision. Is Mr. Roberto Garduno here? Very well, please ask your question.

[Garduno] Mr. President, I would like to ask all of you the same question. I would like to go back to the Cuban issue. It seems that the U.S. Government has implemented several policies that are somewhat offensive to the continent and to countries of other continents, such as the Torricelli amendment and the recent ruling of a U.S. court allowing citizens of other countries to be taken by force to the United States. What is the Rio Group's attitude toward this matter? What will happen with Cuba? The Cuban issue has been discussed for six years. What is the group's position toward Cuba and what are its chances of joining the group?

[Menem] I believe that each one of the member countries—in addition to whatever the other presidents that are accompanying me on this occasion may say, and I will let them speak for themselves so that they get to work a bit and not leave this news conference to me [laughs]...[pauses]. Argentina has already issued a statement on this issue and I think all the countries of this region have done the same. We condemn the Torricelli amendment completely. So much so that in a joint communique with the Mexican Government that I signed during my recent trip to Mexico we stated our position on this issue and also condemned the breach of jurisdiction approved by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Therefore, there can be no doubts in this regard. I do not know whether my counterparts want to add something to this, but there can definitely be no doubts about this matter.

[Burzaco] Very well, Mr. De la Masa Leniz of Chile's television Channel Megavision will ask the next question. He will be followed by Mr. Gustavo Silvestri of Buenos Aires TV Channel 13. Mr. De la Masa Leniz, you may go ahead.

[De la Masa] Mr. President, can we expect that countries where power is seized through a coup d'etat will receive a more concrete punishment than being expelled from the OAS or the Rio Group, such as, for example, economic sanctions?

[Menem] I believe so. I believe it is serious enough for a country where a coup d'etat is staged and the constitutional and institutional order is broken to be expelled—if Argentina's proposal is approved—from important organizations such as the OAS. I also believe that once the country is expelled from this umbrella organization, it also may be expelled from other regional organizations to which it belongs, in addition to whatever economic sanctions may be instituted. This, however, will have to be discussed at meetings that the OAS and the other organizations to which the country in question belongs will have to hold urgently after the breach of constitutional order takes place.

[Burzaco] Mr. Gustavo Silvestri comes next, after him Ms. Adriana Ayala of Colombia's TV Noticiero Nacional. Mr. Silvestri, you may go ahead.

[Silvestri] Thank you very much. Mr. President, this summit has been held under the cloud of what just happened in Venezuela. Have the presidents discussed or studied a more forceful and strong reaction mechanism to deal with attempts to thwart democratic systems and return to the past in our countries? Have you analyzed the reasons for such attempts, bearing in mind that it has been said that economic adjustments can bring about an atmosphere of dissatisfaction that can, at times, lead to such thwarted coups d'etat in our continent?

[Menem] I would say that the causes, unjustified of course, because nothing can justify a coup d'etat since democracy improves by itself through the free elections of the people's representatives...[pauses] I believe that such actions are rather a persistent tradition and treasonous behavior of certain groups in Latin America and the world, because coups d'etat do not happen in Latin America alone. The ultranationalist and rabidly xenophobic groups within the Armed Forces resort to any kind of argument to justify what cannot be justified.

You can see, however, that this state of things has been—I would say—totally overcome in Latin America where, except for Haiti and Cuba, the rest of the countries enjoy full democracy. This is significant by itself and constitutes an improvement over what Latin America used to be.

Consider the Brazilian case. Previously—I am not discussing facts that occurred 20 or 10 years ago, I am discussing facts that occurred only a few years ago—a situation similar to what has been experienced in Brazil was reason enough for the military to immediately ally with a few civilians, who used them to obtain a favorable reaction to their interests, and stage a swift coup. Nevertheless, the constitutional mechanisms have functioned in Brazil as they should have. There is an interim president who is temporarily occupying the position until the president is tried on [pauses] corruption charges. This fact is stimulating. It is comforting to see that in a Latin American country such as Brazil the constitutional mechanisms are functioning. We can say they also have functioned in Argentina, where the previous government had to put up with several coup attempts and the frustrated 3 December 1990 coup. There also have been coup attempts in other Latin American countries lately. This, however, did not occur as before when with the first troops' deployment, the constitutional government fell and the military took power. We all have great experience in this regard. This is why I can tell you that the best way of fighting this scourge is to, swiftly and bluntly, resort to the constitutional mechanisms at the level of each country individually and also to immediately resort to the international organizations, as has occurred in the cases of Venezuela and Haiti.

[Burzaco] I am being told that Mr. Gustavo Silvestre is not here. Ah, excuse me. We now will continue with Adriana Ayala of Noticiero Nacional. No, I am sorry, she is the one who is not here. It doesn't matter because this news conference is reaching its end.

[Menem] I ask you to pardon us because the other presidents are waiting for us. I am awfully sorry. Well, dear friends, I will meet you at the government palace press room tomorrow. I call on my Argentine colleagues because I also have been a journalist—not a good one, but... I will talk to you at the press room tomorrow, OK [preceding expression in English]?

[Unidentified reporter] [words indistinct] ...of Chile. I would like to know your opinion about the reasons for the current discredit of politicians, not only in Latin America, but also in the rest of the world, and about the best way to fight that.

[Menem] This discredit is the result, not only of an intense campaign, but also of certain factors that make it possible: the bad performance of some politicians and the political sector in general. This bad performance also is common among union leaders and the entrepreneurial sector leaders. In other words, in the democratic world, where broad freedom is enjoyed, such crises occur in all leading sectors. This occurs worldwide, but we are now referring to the situation in Latin America. This problem can be solved through democracy. Democracy can heal the ailments caused by democracy. In definite terms, it is up to the people to solve this sort of problem: In a democratic regime, if a politician is not functioning, if a politician does unethical things, the people themselves must replace him with other people capable of fulfilling the duties the people want them to. I cannot answer your question differently.

[Burzaco] Shall we end the news conference?

[Menem] The last question, the last. She is a lady and...

[Unidentified reporter] Messrs. Presidents, do you believe that by the next century Latin American will already be an integrated region? What are the prospects? As statesmen, how do you believe the next step must be taken? Will we leave underdevelopment behind?

[Menem] Thank you for referring to us as statesmen. The only statesmen here are the two colleagues who are accompanying me. I still have not reached this category. I would like to tell you that we yearn to be an integrated region by the next century. This is similar to what I have learned from the professor who taught me about politics. When referring to Latin American integration and unity in the 1950s, General Peron [former Argentine president] used to say: The year 2000 will see us united or conquered. I am fully convinced that the year 2000 will see us entirely united. Thank you. Thank you very much. [applause]

Cuba

Retired Commander Joins Opposition

PA0312182192 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1744 GMT 3 Dec 92

[Text] Havana, 3 Dec (EFE)—Alvaro Prendes, who retired six months ago with the rank of commander and who was a founder of the Cuban Air Force and a hero of the thwarted Bay of Pigs invasion, on 3 December announced his incorporation into the internal opposition as a member of the Democratic Socialist Current.

At a news conference with foreign reporters Prendes said "it was a very difficult step," adding that he had no other choice "because we need changes to end this situation that has no solution."

Prendes, who described himself as "socialist," said he fears no retaliation and trusts the "intelligence, discrimination, and heroism of Fidel Castro and his ability to make adjustments."

The retired officer on 3 December sent a letter to Castro stating that "you have the necessary ability and authority to make indispensable changes in the least traumatic manner."

Hidalgo: U.S. 'Blackmail' Behind UN Rapporteur

FL0312205692 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1000 GMT 3 Dec 92

[Text] On 2 December, Cuba challenged the existence of a so-called special rapporteur imposed by the United States to oversee the human rights situation in Cuba and questioned the reliability of his report, which Cuba has characterized as biased. During his speech to the third commission of the General Assembly, Cuban UN Ambassador Alcibiades Hidalgo spoke about the constant violations, legal manipulations, blackmail, and pressures that Washington used to achieve the approval of exceptional and unjustified procedures against Cuba.

Hidalgo said: As is well known, a special rapporteur is appointed only when there is a prior history of flagrant and massive human rights violations, a situation that not even the greatest of fable writers can assert exists in Cuba. He added: Nevertheless, the United States was able to get the resolution that appoints a special rapporteur approved without the support of the majority of the members of the Human Rights Commission by using blackmail, and with the special representative's report as a pretext.

Good friends provided the Cuban Government with irrefutable proof that, as early as 20 April 1992, a meeting was held in New York between U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering and Under Secretary (Orlen Brodski), at which the U.S. representative gave a list of candidates endorsed by his government for the position of special rapporteur.

Alcibiades Hidalgo pointed out that the draft resolution that the United States has submitted for consideration by the General Assembly is aimed at falsely presenting the report of the so-called special rapporteur as a result of their concern regarding human rights in Cuba. Hidalgo said it is the opinion of the Cuban Government that the report is biased, lacks objectivity, and is ideologically prejudiced. Thus, it still fulfills its role as an instrument at the service of the Bush administration's interests during the current session of the General Assembly.

Hidalgo stressed that the text includes information by groups created and financed by the U.S. Government as part of its policy of destabilization and is a mixture of lies and half-truths which are the material typically used in U.S. propaganda. In his speech, Alcibiades Hidalgo reiterated the decision of his government to continue cooperating with the UN organizations in relation to human rights, but said that he opposes letting these organizations be manipulated for political purposes.

Candido Palmero Assesses Food Program

FL0412031392 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 4 Dec 92

[Text] At a meeting with the Cuban media, Comrade Candido Palmero, the first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] in Havana Province and a member of the Politburo, discussed topics of interest regarding the priorities of the PCC's program during the special period. In order to have his assessment of the food program in Havana Province, I asked him for exclusive statements for Radio Rebelde. Here are his recorded statements.

[Begin Palmero recording] As regards to 1992, which is ending, and the prospects—how things have worked out this year—we think it has been a very good year. Not only because there has been a big increase of 70 percent in the state sector and of 7 to 10 percent in the private sector, but also because conditions have been created so that next year the increase will be greater. That is, in this strategic, decisive program of the special period which was conceived by the commander in chief for this province, we are on a total counteroffensive. That is, this is one of the successes of the revolution and one of the sources of pride for us as revolutionaries, as party members, not only from Havana Province but also from the capital, which contributes so much, which does so much with its contingents, with the forces that work here; and we can say that, truly, this is one of socialism's victories and one of the victories of Fidel's ideas about how we must save the nation, the Revolution, and socialism. [end recording]

Two Prisoners Released; Board Flight for Spain

PA0312154892 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0434 GMT 2 Dec 92

[Text] Havana, 1 Dec (EFE)—Two of the prisoners on behalf of whom Manuel Fraga, president of Galicia,

interceded with Fidel Castro were released on 1 December and boarded a Cubana de Aviacion flight bound for Madrid, Spanish sources reported.

The men are Silvio Aguila Llanes, who in 1980 was sentenced to 30 years in prison for attempting to hijack a ship, with Cuban tourists aboard, to the United States, an incident in which 10 people lost their lives; and Alexis Corzo Rodriguez, who was sentenced to eight years for painting slogans criticizing the government.

Aguila and Rodriguez went directly to the airport, where they were received by Spanish Embassy officials before boarding the plane at 2100 (0200 GMT).

According to the same sources, two other men, brothers Gerardo Jimenez Ramos and Juan David Jimenez Ramos, sentenced to 30 years for forcing their way into the Vatican Nuncio's office, an action in which one employee was killed, will be released on 3 December.

The four prisoners are part of the group whose release Fraga requested from Castro when the latter visited Galicia in July.

The prisoners include well-known dissidents of moderate leanings, such as Indamiro Restano, leader of the Harmony Movement, who was sentenced to 10 years for rebellion; and Sebastian Arcos, who was sentenced to six years for disseminating "enemy propaganda."

These two prisoners are to be added to the 19 who were released in May, also after Fraga, president of the Spanish autonomous region of Galicia, in the country's northwest, interceded on their behalf.

Analysis of Armed Forces' Status Viewed

FL0412020992 Havana Cuba Vision Network in Spanish 0222 GMT 2 Dec 92

["Open Agenda" program with host Antonio Resillez and guests Brigadier General Leonardo Andollo and Colonel Reynaldo Munoz, at the Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces in Havana—live]

[Text] [Resillez] Good evening. As announced, we are broadcasting this program [words indistinct] from the Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces [Minfar] in Revolution Square in Havana. We were delayed a few minutes for technical reasons. On the eve of the 36th anniversary of the Granma landing, our goal is to make an analysis—and to bring it before national and international public opinion—of the situation of the Revolutionary Armed Forces [FAR] under these circumstances that Cuba is experiencing.

Our guests are Brigadier General Leonardo Andollo, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] and chief of Minfar's Engineering Directorate, and Colonel Reynaldo Munoz, the chief of Minfar's Planning and Finance Directorate. We will also present other statements of great importance for the public's information from other chiefs and directors of essential FAR units. These statements will also be shown on this "Open Agenda" program.

General, both in Cuba and abroad, there are many people, among them military specialists and analysts, who are asking themselves to what extent Cuba's combat capabilities have been affected, primarily by the collapse of the socialist bloc, and in particular, the collapse of the USSR, keeping in mind that these were our traditional sources of supply for military equipment. Could you inform the country on this aspect?

[Andollo] Yes, of course, Comrade Resillez. In order to answer your question I would like your permission to begin with a brief bit of history in order to perhaps better comprehend the content of what we want to say. We can say that from the initial years of the revolution, in our defense doctrine it was always clear that defense was an issue which should depend essentially on our own forces, and due to its importance it could not be put in the hands or on the shoulders of others. Naturally, this never rejected, and was also based on, the need to establish military cooperation whenever possible with those countries with whom we share common ideological or political interests. This is how in practice, as is known by all, mutually beneficial and strong military cooperation with the USSR developed for many years.

However, this cooperation, I must truly stress, made it possible to develop a powerful defensive system which was the result, first of all, of a need. Neither we nor the revolution's leadership wanted to create these powerful armed forces. Rather, the tremendous confrontation with the United States gave rise to these military needs. Furthermore, this was possible because we had that military cooperation, and this made it possible not to burden our national economy. However, over the years and as the result of the evolution of the military and political situation at the regional and international levels in later years, this concept of defense based on our own efforts became stronger and more solid as our basic principle.

Therefore, toward the end of the seventies and the beginning of the eighties, in light of the coming into power, as is known by everyone, of a new administration—in this case the Reagan administration, which had a strong reactionary bent and a profoundly aggressive and hegemonic program—the revolution's leaders were forced, as the result of their analysis of the situation, to make a set of important decisions. These decisions were based on two aspects which we can define as essential: first, the obligatory need to base our defense on our own forces; and second, the fact that the fundamental path to victory in the event of an armed conflict would have to be a prolonged people's war. This resulted in profound military reform. I can assure you of this.

This military reform, based on the doctrine of the entire people's war, was an activity which, as I said before, began during that period and at which we have been working practically for 15 years. The military reform was

conducted with the participation of the FAR, all the organizations of the state's central administration, and our government's following a set of strategic guidelines which our commander in chief had outlined, and under the direction of Army General Raul Castro Ruz, the second secretary of the PCC and minister of the FAR.

The essence of these changes in our defens strategy, which took the form, as I mentioned earlier, of the entire people's war, was based on the combination of a whole set of concepts and guidelines on the strategic, operational, and tactical levels to carry out and develop all the forms of combat in a coordinated way. Particularly in the sphere of armed combat, this idea had or has as a point of departure the harmonious combination of regular combat, irregular combat, or as I mentioned, a combination of the two in order to deal with every specific situation in accordance with the time, the place, and the objective.

I would like to emphasize this strategy of planning at the combat level. This has a very important foundation in which all weapon systems and combat equipment have their place, but no one element has supremacy over any of the others, and this means that even when some of these elements are missing, this does not determine the outcome of the war as projected. For this reason, we believe that these strategic aspects were very important in that historic moment. Together with this, there are other very important factors, in this brief explanation we have given ... [pauses] are giving, and that is the weaponry factor. Parallel to this, we were able, and we had the opportunity through that cooperation, to substantially increase our weapons systems, including the most advanced [words indistinct] which we assimilated. We have weapons such as the MiG-29, a fourth-generation fighter plane. We have armored equipment with the most modern laser and computer systems which provide high effectiveness in the fire control systems, as well as other well-known systems.

This weaponry, which we were able to increase during that period, in addition to all that has been accumulated through the military build-up process, has made it possible for us to have an considerable volume of weapons right now. I would add that this is necessary for our war strategy. But, not with the weaponry alone, Comrade Resillez, but also as a result of the level of foresight and the systemization which has always characterized the FAR command and control process. A strong policy was developed parallel to this to create all the material reserves which are also very important in waging the war. This mean that right now we have a volume of material reserves that ensures that we can wage a prolonged war.

Yet, it is not enough to have this weaponry and these reserves. In addition to and simultaneous with this, we have continued working very intensely during these years to complete the required industrial and supply infrastructure to repair and even produce these weapons. Despite the current situation, we are able to repair practically all the weapons systems and combat equipment the FAR currently has. Actually, we have the capability to even produce part of them in some cases, and in others cases, produce them entirely. Together with this, we assimilated all the technologies to ensure maintenance and particularly the prolonged conservation of these weapons. This conservation might require long periods. This was not enough; we have also worked very intensely, taking advantage of all of Cuba's scientific and technological potential, and we managed to find the basic raw materials required to ensure this conservation which I have mentioned.

Together with this ... [pauses] We have been talking about weapons, but everyone knows that the value of a weapon resides in the men wielding them, in terms of their awareness and understanding of the struggle as well as their level of readiness. For this reason, during the period we have mentioned, we have conducted a strong policy of training of all the personnel categories. We began, actually, with our officer corps, but in addition to them, we have intensely trained all the rest of the personnel of our regular troops. This has made it possible for our regular troops, despite the present situation, to have a strong, young, physically fit, well-trained reserve, a considerable number of whom have combat experience from fulfilling highly honorable internationalist missions throughout these years, in various parts of the world.

In conjunction with this readiness strategy, tens of thousands of Territorial Troops Militia officers, hundreds of thousands of militiamen, and at the same time, millions of men and women of our production and defense brigades have been trained. For this reason, and thanks to the conditions created, we have been able to establish a training system which we believe is suited to what we believe will be the nature of the war, if it is imposed on us.

Now, these forces not only need to be trained but, as is well known by all, they need a suitable political-moral level. We believe that this political-moral level is satisfactory. It is high because, in short, these forces are made up of our own people. These same people today are carrying out the tremendous feat of—under the extremely difficult economic conditions which we are confronting, under the conditions of the special period in peacetime—waging the struggle to overcome, resist, and conquer this situation. They are upholding the banners of the nation and socialism, and even, I would add, the hopes that many nations have placed in our people and our revolution. This is why we believe their political-moral level is high.

Now, the conjunction of all these factors I have mentioned ... [pauses] As you can see, this is not just a passing moment. Thus, the collapse of the socialist bloc and the extinction of the USSR have created a complex situation for us; we are not going to hide the truth. But we have arrived at this situation under very favorable

conditions, conditions under which our defense capabilities have not changed and the required defense levels are being maintained.

I do not want to overlook another factor which I believe is important. That is that—also as part of the preparation of our defensive system—we have always kept in mind the fact that if they impose a war on us, it would have to be waged under an absolute blockade. From this arose, many years ago, the concept of what was then called the special period in wartime. This strategy made it possible to establish a set of measures and guidelines regarding how to wage an armed conflict under the conditions of a total lack of material support from abroad. This was expressed in a set of factors related to conservation of resources, changes in technology, alternative energy measures, to mention only the most important factors.

This actually created favorable conditions, in one way or another, for this time we have had to confront these past few years. Actually, I believe that the current special period in peacetime constitutes—although it was not being planned this way—another way to prepare for war. We are sure of this. This is why we say that we are in a favorable position to enter the situation which has characterized our country in the last two or three years. For this reason, we believe that the defense capability of our armed forces, the defense capability of our defense systems ... [pauses] We will not disregard the importance of the special period. The FAR is experiencing limitations. But in addition to the limitations, there are also political factors. It is good, as you know from our traditions, that the FAR has never been, is not, and will never be above the people. It is experiencing, together with our people, the limitations of these times.

But no one can mistake the fact that, due to the set of factors I have mentioned, our defense capabilities really remain at the required levels and have not been deeply altered in any way by the new situation. I wanted primarily to express these views regarding this issue.

[Resillez] Thank you, General. I am also interested in finding out now what the status of our ties with our traditional sources of military supply is.

[Andollo] Regarding this subject, I think we can mention something that is public knowledge. Recently, as is known, certain agreements were signed between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Cuba regarding the withdrawal of the motorized infantry brigade stationed in Cuba and the continuing presence in our territory of a radioelectronic reconnaissance center. This, as you can see, is an expression of the new forms of mutually beneficial military cooperation which are being developed, or will be developed under the conditions which presently characterize the relations between our two governments. We think that this could be a reflection of a favorable political will which might make possible a trend—shall we say—in military cooperation which might also be beneficial for our defense capabilities and the country in general.

[Resillez] General, can we at present foresee alternative sources of supply for items that are essential for our combat capabilities?

[Andollo] Yes, Resillez. We can foresee them, and not only foresee them; they exist. And we will use them whenever necessary.

[Resillez] Thank you, General.

Within the nation's plan to begin and to prepare ourselves for an entire people's war, should war be imposed on us through some attack from abroad, our Armed Forces are, of course, a fundamental link in the chain of our defense capabilities. Furthermore, maintaining this combat readiness is a need that our society cannot relinquish. Col. Munoz, what are the fundamental lines the FAR is working on at present with a view to diminishing the social cost that the FAR indisputably has on our society?

[Munoz] Well, Resillez, our reasoning stems from what the general has explained. That is, its foundations lie in all the principles that he has just told you about. In the first place, we must say that, as the Armed Forces, we are in no way unaware of the situation the country is going through, particularly the economic situation. We have a clear understanding of this problem. At the same time, we also have a very clear appreciation of the strategic objective of our main enemy today, which is to strangle the revolution economically. In this regard, all the defense work is directed primarily toward preventing our work from becoming a heavy burden on the economy, and to avoid contributing in any way to the enemy's achievement of its objective.

Starting from the appropriate balance between these two factors, the FAR has been doing intensive work for years now. This work naturally has taken on new forms under the current circumstances, and its execution and implementation are being accelerated. We could mention a set of main lines and their scope. Naturally, one important factor is to adapt the structure and composition of the FAR. The principles of this adaptation are based on keeping an entire people's war going, as the fundamental factor in defense, and on not effecting this support in any way, by indisputably identifying everything that is secondary to defense and eliminating, adjusting, or adapting it to these conditions. At the same time, we are carrying out an analysis of the cost-effectiveness of each of the activities carried out, and we are not starting anything new that has not been subjected to a rigorous prior evaluation. If it is absolutely necessary to begin something, we always try to do so using our own resources.

In this connection, there is also the adjustment of our levels of activity. We are adjusting them selectively, training the personnel in various ways for different personnel categories, reducing, of course, the number of

activities that are not principal activities, and adapting all the activities—such as exercises and maneuvers—to the current situation, so that there can really be a reduction in the expenses involved.

A third factor we could mention concerns the adjustment of consumption of all kinds of materials. This adjustment of consumption of all kinds of things is based on a principle of planning not in an overall sense but rather by program. The essential purpose of this planning is to protect the main objectives, to allow them to function with vitality, and to achieve our objectives with regard to both readiness and training [words indistinct]. Also related to this is a review of the entire system of regulations that we have been working on, a system of regulations that was based on the criteria of the past. There is indisputably a certain amount of leeway there, which is to our benefit and which also allows us to reduce the amount of resources we use without sacrificing either quality or certain activities,.

Also concerned with this, the FAR has been doing some intensive work for years now to try to reduce its budget slowly and progressively. This is an aspect that, together with all the above, indisputably has an important effect, looking at this budget not only as it affects spending, but also as it affects the basic consumption of materials, which is naturally reflected in the budget, and which we have been progressively reducing, not because we do not have the material to consume, but rather because we are using it, consuming it, more efficiently.

A strong policy of material conservation comprising all these factors is also being implemented. In this activity, we are trying to re-use all resources as much as possible, and at the same time recycle everything that has been used and can be used again; that is, put into operation again. Also in this connection, we are trying to rotate our reserves, so that they can be used in the best way possible when necessary.

There is another set of tasks that are of fundamental importance, such as, for example, being self-sufficient in food, at which all the FAR commands are working hard; the realigning of the FAR enterprise system referred to earlier by the general, whereby not only is a response to defense needs being given today but our capabilities are also being put at the service of the nation's economy with a view to solving problems of the nation's economy; the work being done with a view to perfecting the entire institution—primarily the enterprise system, but also other activities not related to the enterprise system, such as our hospitals, the Youth Labor Army itself, and other FAR groups and institutions. All of this has the same three objectives: first, to make more efficient use of all the resources we have; second, to reduce the use of those resources as much as possible; third, to seek alternative sources that will allow us to carry out all the activities with the same quality while consuming far fewer resources.

[Resillez] Thank you, Colonel. As you were saying a few minutes ago, General, people continue to be, in my opinion, a fundamental factor within any armed forces, whether those of Cuba or any other country, even regardless of the socioeconomic system in question. As regards the living conditions of the members of our Armed Forces, we have also received statements, for your information, from General (Orlando Almaguel), the chief of our Minfar's Rear Services. We will play these statements for you right now.

[Begin (Almaguel) recording] Under the current conditions, our Armed Forces, as part of our populace in uniform, are not free from the difficult economic situation which our country is going through. However, as a result of the series of measures which the Armed Forces have been developing in such sensitive areas as living conditions—which include food, medical care, and the use of uniforms and fuel—a program has been implemented with the goal of avoiding detrimental effects on those people doing service in our Armed Forces.

There is something very important concerning the food program, for which a set of measures are being implemented, aimed at guaranteeing food for our personnel. It has taken a great effort, carried out by all our combatants, and has made it possible for our Armed Forces to be self-sufficient at this time in some areas, such as tubers and vegetables. We are also carrying out an intensive program for meat products. We believe that in this five-year period, our Armed Forces will become self-sufficient in the fundamental areas.

Another aspect we must mention concerns medical care for our soldiers. Despite the limitations (?existing for medicines), we have been able to find some alternatives based on the use of medicinal plants as well as other therapeutic procedures such as the use of physical therapy, acupuncture, and other alternatives in the medical field.

In addition, a great effort has been made with regard to fuel conservation policies. This is one of the elements of which we have the greatest shortages on a national level. In this regard, we have sought alternative sources, such as the use of accompanying gases and [word indistinct], even emulsifying diesel fuel with water, which has allowed us to maintain our fuel reserves at acceptable levels, which guarantees the (?life) of the Armed Forces. At the same time, as part of this conservation, in our units we have developed the use of animal-powered transportation in such a way as to allow us to maintain fuel conservation levels in this area, as well as the use of bicycles for internal transportation within our units. This set of measures has allowed us to maintain the current levels of living conditions as a basic element, which ensures the fulfillment [words indistinct] and which will allow us to maintain appropriate levels of supply under peacetime conditions and maintain the combat capabilities of our troops. [end recording]

[Resillez] General, in this modern world all [words indistinct] tend to become out of date. Are we in a position to update Cuban military technology?

[Andollo] That is a good question, worthy of being asked on an "Open Agenda" program, Resillez. I say this because this is a problem, the weapons technology problem, that has been the focus of attention in the past few years. This especially became the focus of attention as a result of events of the Persian Gulf War, when the enemy extensively showed its capabilities in the mass media and tried to demonstrate the high development of its technology. This necessarily became the focus of discussion and analysis by specialists and experts.

In fact, this is a problem all armed forces have, even those of the so-called superpowers. In essence, we could say that the weapons technology problem is the basic issue of what was called, or is called, the arms race. In this case, even the United States of America has made use of this, not just for technical-military purposes but also for political and socioeconomic purposes.

Many experts and specialists in the world have said that in their opinion the arms race carried out by the United States in the past 15 or 20 years was one of the factors in, and had an effect on, the economic situation of the USSR, before the events which occurred later. The arms race was a factor in them. It could even be said that this same policy led the United States itself to fall into its own trap. Right now, it has been suggested that it is possible that the high cost of this race will be one of the challenges that the new U.S. Administration will have to confront.

We have always had a different view of this, based on the idea that it is not possible to go along with this race, and that for a country like ours—a small, Third World country facing a military power of the magnitude of the United States of America—there is only one course: pit intelligence against technology. This is not a whim or a desire, nor is it a voluntaristic action by anyone. Rather, it has a strong foundation. In the first place, it is a good idea to talk about some of the historical foundations of our own people. If we go back to our war for independence, in any one of its stages, we can see that our people were capable of fighting against the best armed, equipped, and trained European army of that time, at the end of the 19th century, as everyone knows. And as everyone knows, we beat them, despite the fact that this was thwarted afterwards by the American intervention. The Spanish Army had great technological superiority.

We also have the experience of our own war for liberation, in which our rebel army also faced an army with technologically superior weapons and equipment, and the results are well known by all of us. More recently, we have seen the experience of a number of medium- and low-intensity local conflicts, but especially the enormous and tremendous experience of Vietnam, in which the Vietnamese people were capable of facing this enormous technological superiority and winning. So there are an infinite number of examples that show us that it is possible to confront technology.

There are also technical-military factors which have always been recognized. I would like to cite a few examples that could be interesting, concerning the fight against this so-called highly advanced technology. I can give you some examples. There is the Abrams (?M1A1) tank. This is the highest expression of the U.S. Armed Forces' armored technology, with all the latest achievements of science and technology. These tanks can cost between $2.5 million and $4 million each. But everyone knows that this tank can be put out of commission by a simple anti-tank mine which does not cost any more than $200 or $300, at most.

The cruise missile system was used a lot during the recent Gulf War. Enough publicity was given to it, certainly. But we also know, and we have the facts that confirm this, that some of these missiles were shot down by infantry weapons, with just a rifle. Naturally, by a man who knew how to shoot. These missiles cost between $1.3 million and $1.5 million. We have many other examples besides these. I do not want to take a lot of time on this, but I also wanted to end with this example, which is very current. There is what our people recently had to handle: the outrage of the anti-Cuban television broadcasts.

It is well known that the U.S. Administration has allocated tens of millions of dollars to this program, at an annual rate of approximately $30 million. Our people, using their abilities, technology, and intelligence, as everyone knows, have been capable of neutralizing some of the most sophisticated image broadcasting technology the United States of America has been able to use. They were capable of neutralizing it and turning it into what our people have called "the television broadcast that cannot be seen." It was truly a victory of technology and intelligence, but the most important thing was that this was done at a very low cost and above all [words indistinct] energy, something that is very important under the current conditions.

So, we could cite a multitude of examples that show [words indistinct] is an accurate and correct view. We have been working on these factors very intensively over these past few years. I would also like to stress an aspect which is also important. It is well known that in the past few years a strong program has been implemented in what we call the preparation or conditioning of the theater of military operations, more commonly called the civil defense tunnels. We know and we can show the capabilities of these defense projects, which can resist the current weapons systems, and in some cases we say they can resist those that have not yet been manufactured.

This really shows that it is possible to fight against that technology. That is why this program, which the people have made theirs, is attacked so often by the enemy, even by its spokespersons. This is one of the first indicators of

the importance, the rightness, and the strategic significance of this program to carry forward the fight against technology. And why is it important? Because our main strategic weapon, Resillez, is our people themselves. Thus, their protection is a vitally important objective, even more so since we have been capable—thanks to the ingenuity and intelligence of thousands of specialists—of carrying forward this program with a minimum of resources, with a minimum of input, because the key to this success is in the participation of the masses, in the knowledge and massive participation of our people.

I could tell you that we base our opinion on the idea that no weapon is obsolete. Ideas on their use and utilization may be obsolete, and therefore we always keep in mind that the most important thing is to have a clear idea, a clear definition of the nature of the struggle; to know the weak points of the enemy's weapons and tactics; to know the capabilities of our weapons; to act with wisdom and flexibility, without stereotypes on the tactical, operational, or strategic levels; and at the same time, above all, to develop great independence in carrying out our combat (?operations).

Now, our view of the problem and your question, Resillez, is global. This does not mean that we underestimate technology or underestimate the modernization of (?weaponry). We are also paying attention to modernizing (?weaponry), and as I said at the beginning, thanks to the military cooperation we have had with the former Soviet Union, we have the most advanced weapons. We have worked in that direction not only along the path of cooperation but also through our own efforts.

Now, what is the difference? Our efforts to modernize the weaponry focus on those weapons that might play an important role within the possible nature of the war as we project it. They are also the weapons with which we can obtain the most important changes in quality with a minimum of investment. This is our concept of the modernization of the weaponry.

Why are we able to achieve this? Because, as a result of all these years of military build-up, we have attained a strong scientific and technical potential within the FAR. Not only that; maybe the most important part is that this potential is closely linked to the immense scientific and technical potential Cuba presently has, and is also very closely linked with a strong movement of innovators and efficiency experts, which also ties in with the spare parts forum movement, which has yielded so many results not only for Cuba's economy for also for our armed forces.

[Resillez] I think that.... [pauses] No, I am convinced, that your answer has responded to the questions of a number of viewers who are interested in the issue of the modernization of our weaponry and also the effectiveness and activities of the civil defense tunnels. There was even a group of comrades from the FAR Civilian Workers Union that called regarding these subjects.

The political and ideological work in the FAR, as in the rest of Cuba, is today as important as ever. Regarding this, within the FAR, we held a lengthy conversation before the cameras with Col. Vicente Diaz, the deputy chief of Minfar's Political Directorate. We have excerpted a brief segment of this lengthy conversation which we want to present to you for your consideration and information.

[Begin Diaz recording] The political and ideological work in the FAR has always been an inseparable part of our activity. At this time, the political and ideological work is based on [word indistinct], Marxist, and Leninist conceptions; and follows the guidelines and instructions given by our Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. We think of the political and ideological work as a specific notion which is manifested in every aspect of the lives and activities of our troops. All chiefs, officers, sergeants, and members of the PCC and the Union of Young Communists participate. As part of their various duties, they have the task of politically educating and guiding their subordinate personnel, in addition to teaching and training them.

This, Resillez, makes it possible for us to affirm that at the present time all our soldiers have a deep understanding of the challenge imposed on us by the current situation. I would add that not only do they have a deep understanding, but also that their actions and attitude show that they have accepted this challenge and are doing everything they can to reduce its possible effects.

I could talk about thousands of initiatives which have arisen from the mass of the troops and the mass of the civilian workers who are part of the FAR. These initiatives have been aimed at solving, specifically, the difficulties which affect or might affect, in one way or another, the combat capabilities of our FAR. In short, Resillez, the political, moral, and disciplinary status of our FAR is up to par with our people, who are showing a great capacity for resistance, courage, and dignity, which will carry us to the final victory. [end recording]

[Resillez] Col. Munoz, a few minutes ago you told the country about the readjustments that are necessary within the FAR, in the field of FAR finances and planning, with the aim of reducing the costs, which the armed forces obviously have, to a society [words indistinct]. However, we would like to know if these readjustments could be considered part of the rectification effort all our people are engaged in, independent of the special period. Please, if it is also possible, include in your answer to what extent these readjustments and FAR actions right now are contributing to helping Cuba overcome the special period.

[Munoz] Yes. The first part of the answer is a categorical yes. We can say that the most recent precedent for this situation occurred at the conclusion of the Third PCC Congress, where the FAR minister made a call [words indistinct] a meeting with the top FAR chiefs, which a group of administrative and political officials also attended, and at which a whole program of action was established to begin the training year and the 1986-1990

five-year plan which was also beginning then. To be precise, we can say that most of the basic principles we mentioned earlier, and many others which it is impossible to discuss here due to the time constraints, are present in this group of work guidelines. Of course, the special period is a catalyst which is speeding up the implementation of all these factors. In their new forms, it is undoubtedly necessary to find new tools to implement them. But the bases and foundation of this work were laid prior to this moment which we have called the special period. This situation, of course, has allowed us as an institution to cope with this situation and at the same time transmit our experiences and help the rest of the state (?institutions) [words indistinct].

Regarding the second part of the question, I believe that the greatest contribution the FAR can make to our people's determination to resist lies in the fact that the people should have the certainty that regardless of the difficult situation which Cuba is experiencing, and specifically the economic situation, the FAR has the capability to respond to any form of attack by the enemy. I believe that this conviction of our people, together with letting it be known that we have accumulated technical-material wealth, as the comrade general explained, and that the men directing this activity have the wisdom to administrate, conserve, and use it appropriately when required, is the main contribution we can make to the determination of our people to resist in all fields, and the resistance that the FAR would offer to any kind of attack against our people. This is true for our professional troops as well as under the concept of the entire people's war.

The last aspect, the contribution the FAR is making at this time, well, that is included in what I explained at the beginning. Our first contribution is to do everyday what we have always done while consuming fewer resources; do what we have always done, but in a much more efficient manner. At the same time, we must transmit all this experience to Cuba's economy, carry out all these programs jointly. A factor that is not often mentioned is the contribution that the FAR is also making to the economy in activities as important as the work conducted by the Youth Labor Army in sugarcane, coffee, and in this case, tobacco; by our military hospitals in every province, by the central hospital that serves the people with ever greater efficiency despite the difficulties we have; and by the FAR enterprises in response to the needs of Cuba's economy in every field. We could talk about this for a long while, but I think that these are the essential factors and we need to leave time to conclude the program.

[Resillez] Thank you, Comrade Colonel. General, Colonel, we feel truly impressed and grateful for having been able to broadcast this "Open Agenda" program live, directly from the Minfar. Tomorrow is FAR Day. This small crew wants to join in the congratulations that you are receiving precisely on the 36th anniversary of the Granma landing. As part of our people, Comrade General, we feel completely confident of the effectiveness of this sword and shield of the Cuban revolution.

I do not know if you, Comrade Colonel, want to add anything else?

[Munoz] Just thank you.

[Resillez] Thank you. And you, Comrade General?

[Andollo] Well, since your are giving me the opportunity, I would like to say briefly that 36 years after the creation of the FAR, as you have mentioned, we can say to you and the Cuban people, with great certainty and conviction, that the FAR has been, is, and will be—using the words you yourself used—the monolithic shield and sword which will ensure the conduct of the people's war; that the FAR is at the peak moment in its development; that its leadership bodies include the founding generation at the peak of its powers; that there is also a generation which later became part of the FAR and is well trained and has adequate combat experience, as I explained earlier, as a result of the internationalist missions; and that there is a new generation of cadres that are much more highly trained and have been educated under the same principles and standards which shaped the preceding generations of cadres. I would also like to say that this force is highly united behind its historic leaders, our commander in chief and the FAR minister.

I would like to reaffirm that we have the conditions to maintain the defensive capabilities we have developed, and that we will continue to do everything within our power to continue adjusting our expenses to economic reality; that we will not give any help to the economic strangulation with which the enemy is attempting to crush our revolution; that we will do everything within our power, together with our people, to overcome the present economic difficulties and continue developing; that we will continue doing everything possible to increase all our defensive potential in order not to lose our deterrent capability, because—as our minister has said many times—avoiding war is the best way of winning it, because we are aware of the high cost and many sacrifices our people would have to pay in a war of this kind and also because—why not say this as well?—we know that in a war like this, hundreds of thousands of Americans would die, their youngest men, the lowest-income strata, which are the sources of the imperial army. As our commander in chief recently said so well, we do not hate, nor have we been raised to hate, those people. Now, if they impose a war on us, as a true Cuban clearly stated in the historic Baragua Protesta, the seedpod will open, and from the depths of the earth there will emerge that powerful weaponry which we have been able to conserve and preserve, wielded by millions of properly trained Cubans who know they are fighting for the right to have a nation, to have a fatherland, and for the social project which has cost so much sweat and blood, and that we will make life impossible for any

enemy who dares to desecrate the fatherland's soil, and we will fight for as long as necessary until the final victory is attained. Thank you very much for this opportunity to express these ideas.

[Resillez] Thank you very much, Comrade General and Comrade Colonel, for your participation and for the information you have provided to [words indistinct] on a subject of extreme importance for our country. Thank you very much, to you and the FAR, for having supported us in making this program. Thank you, viewer friends, for the attention you have always paid us. Good night.

Haiti

Government Seals Science Faculty Following Protest

FL0312225592 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1700 GMT 3 Dec 92

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] On 2 December, a justice of the peace sealed the main gate of the Science Faculty where the students had protested the installation of a new board of directors. A student from the faculty testifies:

[Begin unidentified student recording in Creole] Because of what happened at the Faculty of Agronomy, all the students were here but decided to not work today. Everyone went home. All the doors were locked. The teachers accepted this. We all agreed to come back tomorrow morning. During the day, however, while only the custodian, who had the keys, remained on the premises, two men in civilian clothes came with a third gentleman wearing a suit, who said he was a justice of the peace. They put a seal on the outside doors, and another lock on the main gates of the faculty. This took place in the absence of the students and the professors. Only the custodian was here.

As agreed, the students of the Faculty of Science will come tomorrow and see what happened. We will then decide on what to do. I am not personally authorized to say what will happen tomorrow. [end recording]

CIPH Views University 'Reform' as State Terrorism

FL0312215292 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1145 GMT 3 Dec 92

[Text] Students and professors of the university sector concur in condemning the attitude of the national education minister and the forces of order toward the university students and are angry about the dismissal measures against the boards of directors of several faculties in Port-au-Prince.

The Inter-Profession Coordinating Body of Haiti, CIPH, today denounces the recent dismissal of the board of the Science Faculty, the Teachers Training College, the Human Sciences Faculty, and the Faculty of Agronomy as a maneuver inspired by the Duvalierist tradition.

CIPH is worried about the reinforcement of state terrorism in the country and says in a statement that such a maneuver aims at, quote, provoking unrest within the faculties, and serving as a pretext to the Army and the Police to increase the atmosphere of terror in the country, unquote.

The Inter-Profession Coordinating Body calls on professionals to immediately express their protest and to defend the dismissed professors. CIPH is inviting them to organize in an effort to preserve the university's autonomy.

Another CONACOM Member Reportedly Kidnapped

FL0312232592 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1700 GMT 3 Dec 92

[Text] According to close sources of the National Congress of Democratic Movements, CONACOM, Jacques Derenoncourt, a member of the movement, disappeared on 2 December. Witnesses say he was kidnapped by armed civilians in a downtown area of Port-au-Prince. Mr. Derenoncourt, a 40-year-old engineer, is also responsible for a non-governmental organization working in rural areas, the Association of Integrated Economic Development.

It should be recalled that two other CONACOM members, Wesner Luc and Justin Bresil, were kidnapped on 22 November by armed civilians, according to the party's leaders. Luc's body was found on 24 November in the northern part of the capital, with gunshot and stab wounds. Mr. Bresil is still reported missing.

Argentina

Mikhail Gorbachev Arrives For Visit

PY2911192592 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1509 GMT 29 Nov 92

[Text] Buenos Aires, 29 Nov (TELAM)—Former USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev, his wife, Raisa, and daughter Irina arrived at the Aeroparque Metropolitan Airport a few minutes before 1000 [1200 GMT] today. Argentine Presidential Secretary General Eduardo Bauza, representing the Argentine Government, met Gorbachev and his family, who arrived on the Tango 1 Argentine presidential plane at the airport military base.

During his stay in Argentina, which will end on 3 December, the former Soviet leader will lecture on several occasions, receive two honorary doctorates, and meet President Carlos Saul Menem and his predecessor, Raul Alfonsin, as well as various church officials, military officers, artists, and businessmen.

Meets Foreign Minister Di Tella

PY0112184392 Buenos Aires Radio Nacional Network in Spanish 1500 GMT 1 Dec 92

[Text] Former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is now at the School of Economics of the Buenos Aires University, where he will be awarded an honorary doctorate.

Foreign Minister Guido Di Tella, who had breakfast with Gorbachev, said the political changes that Gorbachev promoted through Perestroika helped end the East-West conflict and also helped end the myth of the Soviet Union among so many Latin American people.

Di Tella said that the changed introduced by Gorbachev helped the implementation of Menemtroika, Salinastroika, or whatever it is called, alluding to Argentine President Carlos Menem and Mexican President Salinas de Gortari.

Discusses Various Issues

PY0112232092 Buenos Aires Libertad Television in Spanish 0000 GMT 1 Dec 92

[Interview with Mikhail Gorbachev during a special "Key Hour" program conducted by Mariano Grondona, in the studio in Buenos Aires; Gorbachev speaks in Russian with subsequent translation into Spanish—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Grondona] Mr. Gorbachev is here in our television station. I must tell you he had a small mishap on the way. There are some Russian sailors who have been stranded in Buenos Aires for a year and a half, and they wanted to see him. Gorbachev spoke with them. Right now he is being welcomed by [Libertad Television owner] Alejandro Romay.

While he is on his way to our studio, I want to use these few minutes to see if we and you—university students and personalities like [writer and human rights advocate] Ernesto Sabato, and everybody else who are here to talk with him—can recount the historical setting of Mikhail Gorbachev. I prepared this chart to recount Russian history in a few minutes. Let us begin with this 1917-1953 period. [passage omitted]

Here we are with advanced students of international relations from seven Argentine universities. I hope you will prove you are from advanced courses, right? Here we have Mr. Ernesto Sabato, and other Argentine personalities. Let us stand up to receive Mikhail Gorbachev, who is entering this studio with Mr. Alejandro Romay. [applause]

[Gorbachev] Let us start working.

[Grondona] Here on my right is Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, and on his right is Mrs. (Irina Malikova), who will be his interpreter. During this first segement of the program, I will ask a question, perhaps the only one, of Mr. Gorbachev, and in the next segment he will engage—or not—in a debate with the students.

[Gorbachev] Good start.

[Grondona] In my introduction I said that we were mainly interested in Gorbachev the statesman, a man with a unique experience in modern history. We think he has acquired great wisdom, and we want him to help us to think about the future. Our impression is that the eighties have been years of—I'd say—extreme capitalism. That is, Reagan, Thatcher, the opening of the East. There is a belief that the world was heading that way.

The sensation we have in the nineties is that there are changes. Like Clinton in the United States, Major in the United Kingdom, the pains of adjustment in Argentina and in Russia. Let us say that the future is not clear. I want to ask this first question, Mr. Gorbachev. How do you view the nineties in this world, in this world of ideas and facts?

[Gorbachev] I see them as dramatic years, but with many opportunities. Everything will depend on whether we will know how to foresee everything, to evaluate everything, and to make the correct choice.

I think that the nineties are and will be unique, sui genris years. However, we are already late. Now that we have been able to overcome the cold war many things require us to be much more alert about what is happening. We were euphoric; it seems we opened to each other, so now we feel great happiness and relief. Many dangers like a nuclear catastrophe have been averted, they belong to the past, just like the confrontation, the image of the enemy. This is a colossal change and we have not discovered, or rather, we have not been able to see on time that the world has changed.

The world is already different, and it will not be a world without problems. We already have problems. It is late to solve them. The philosophers, politicians are late. The

media are trying to grope something, but I think that the media are giving too few signals. However, I think we will be able to control this challenge. We must change our way of thinking. All our images and perceptions of the past are a lesson. They are a starting point. We are in an uncommon situation, out of any standard, just like the weather does not follow a pattern. I think all the changes must come after a change of thinking. This will be the most difficult thing.

[Grondona] The second and last question I will ask Mr. Gorbachev in this segment is—if I understood him correctly—you are saying that although everything was terribly harsh during the cold war it was easy to think. There was the West, the East, capitalism, Communism, and it was easy to think then. What is now coming is somehow better because we no longer have any nuclear danger, we have left behind many dangers, but intellectually it is worse because we do not know very well what is going on. This is why we need people like Gorbachev to help us think about the future. The feeling we have is that the events are happening faster than we are able to interpret them.

The question is this: The economic adjustment toward capitalism has begun in Russia, in Argentina, in Latin America, and in Eastern Europe. We are now feeling the pain from these adjustments. Where are we heading?

[Gorbachev] Toward a new civilization. By the way, this is the motto of the Gorbachev foundation: Toward a new civilization. If anyone thinks the ideals of liberalism triumphed in the cold war or in anything else, they are mistaken. Perhaps they interpret this intentionally. They make this mistake on purpose. Sometimes we cannot free ourselves from ideological stereotypes. I think that the world of the future will be a world with a new system of paradigms. It is a cardinal change and in the center of this new civilization, the measure will be the human being, a free man who must serve as a principal guide and measure of all values, of all societies, and of each step taken.

I have just seen, during your introduction, the picture of Stalin. His flags carried wonderful slogans: Power to the workers, land for the peasants, a brilliant future, the dawn of Communism is coming on the planet, and a happy life awaits us in the future. How could he attain his goals by despising mankind, by trampling on him and everything he has? The human being, his personality, is the main value. I do not trust in those models that squash man, that turn him into nothing, that annul him. This is why I look at the future and think about it, thinking that we must have a society of free human beings. Without this, there will be nothing.

[Grondona] I will now address the students who will speak in the next segment. This is like being in a classroom. I also ask the public to phone, and we will allow you to participate as much as possible. You, who are watching us and who are thinking together with us, I think Mr. Gorbachev has just said we are heading toward a new civilization, something totally new. The stereotypes of the past do not serve us. All the plans we put together during the cold war, be it from the left or right, do not serve us anymore. The only thing that serves us—I think he said—is that the supreme value is the human being. Stalin promised very wonderful things but he squashed the human being. So think very well of what you will ask him now, about the new civilization, the new humanism, the new path of humanity.

We have received many telephone calls already, and we will soon read the messages. I must say, rather, I will ask those of you who are from the UBA, Buenos Aires University. Let us see. These are people who study in the UBA. Now, those from the UCA, Argentine Catholic University. I know there are some students from the UCA of Cordoba, right? There they are. Students from the UB, Belgrano University, Salvador University, Flasco [Facultad Latino Americana de Ciencias Sociales] Latin American Social Sciences College, CARI [Argentine Council for International Relations] youth group, and the ISE, Argentine Foreign Service Institute.

I also know there are several students who speak Russian. Please raise your hands. Well, there are just a few, but one of them will ask a question in Russian, right? Okay, raise your hands, and I will give the microphone to whoever I can reach. Who wants to ask a question? Well, in order not to be considered a male chauvinist, that lady dressed in white over there. Please say your name and university.

[Claudia Borasni] I am Claudia Borasni. I graduated a few years ago, and I have a degree in political science, with an advanced degree in international relations. The first question I was interested in was about the role of man in the future international context, but he has answered that. I would now like to know what you think about this phenomena of the nationalist uprisings, and do you believe this phenomena could prevail over the interdependence and cooperation among states?

[Gorbachev] Thank you. I think we could continue until the end of the program with these two questions.

[Grondona] No, please. I suggest you use one minute to answer each question, so more questions can be asked. A longer segment will follow this one, but this one will be short.

[Gorbachev] I am sure that the new thought or mentality would be condemned to failure. That is, this hope for a change in the world. This perception, this sensation that something wrong is happening to us, that an infernal force is pushing us to an abyss, if we did not realize it, either consciously or subconsciously—I am referring to the citizens of all the continents when I speak of this, to people who think—without these doubts, the new mentality—well, what I understand as a new mentality—would be condemned to failure. This has been so accepted and approved precisely because the people, the common people, through their intuition—except for

some politicians, futurologists, and scientists—already felt we began to walk along a mistaken path or that we have lost our way.

This, however, is the starting point; we are waiting for some ideas, the most humane possible, to become true. We must understand and consider that these ideas must be approved and respected by all.

I think that the century of a diplomacy of the people is coming. The continents are already on their way to an encounter through youth, student contacts, through the different social organizations, symposiums, personal meetings, trips. The world has become smaller. I think this is the most important thing. This is what must guide the politicians and create certain limits for them. These limits will be the expression of the will of the people. That was the first part of the question.

[Grondona] I congratulate you for your question, because the nationalistic uprisings are what made the Soviet Union explode, right? Like Lithuania and everything that followed. Now, that gentleman over there.

[Gerardo Segura] My name is Gerardo Segura, and I graduated from Duke University in North Carolina, United States. My question is: It is thought that one of the main reasons for which Mr. Gorbachev left power in Russia is that the reforms are taking place too fast. We currently find that Boris Yeltsin is also the victim of a conservative kind of reaction against the reforms. He came to power precisely because he would accelerate the reforms. Do you think the West has abandoned him prematurely?

[Gorbachev] I think that what is happening in our country, in the past few years, in the former Soviet Union, and currently in Russia and in the member countries of the Community of Independent States [CIS], is nearly the same thing that is happening in your countries. This is why I do not know how we can abandon each other. That is how I feel, and I have been trying for some time to make my colleagues understand.

Do not think that only the Soviet Union is changing—it must change without doubt. It is our option. It must change in relation to other countries. It is also our option. However, we will be able to really change and change the world situation as well, only when something like this does not come to our encounter. [sentence as heard] Something similar is happening in the Western countries. We must all change. We are a single civilization. I was right.

I was in the United States last May and I felt the degree of fermentation there. People were thinking. I did not see self-sufficient or content people there. I saw people who are thinking of their own country, of tomorrow. I saw people who think, which is something that unites us, expecting us to come together. I left President Bush in the White House. The United States are waiting for change. This is why we must change together. We have a long road ahead of us. Our roads meet and we must walk along it together. It will not be easy but we must walk along it.

[Grondona] We must change, we are all together, he said. That lady in light blue, over there.

[Veronica Seco] My name is Veronica Seco, I am a student from the UBA College of Economic Sciences. Given the failure of central-planning economy, do you think there exists an alternative socialist model? In case it exists, how would you define it and what are its characteristics?

[Gorbachev] When I spoke about the new civilization, I did not simply make a beautiful statement. It is the result of many thoughts. I think that the alternative for the 21st century will not be either socialism or capitalism. It must be a totally new civilization. The utopistic Communist model has failed in the Soviet Union. Some people have hurriedly asserted that socialism has fallen. It is the Stalinist model that has fallen and which has historically failed.

However, as long as mankind exists, as long as he thinks, he will continue without fail to seek the answer to many questions, including how to improve life, how to make it more human, how to make it more noble. Man will never stop thinking of this as long as he lives. Man will never stop seeking, and he will appeal to the global, liberal, Christian values of the past. (These are) lessons for the present. I am observing that these existing currents of liberalism have their limitations. They have small limitations. I likewise see the deficiencies and weak points of the socialist ideas.

Let us take the case of Argentina. In a day and a half I met a lot of people. I met with people who, like me, remain faithful to Socialist ideals, and also with people who, through arguments, have demonstrated to me the advantages of liberalism. There are Christian Democrats, there are conservatives. This is a real society and they are real people from real currents of thought. I find this in every country. The combination of these concepts or programs will precisely give us the answer which will eventually be evaluated by the people themselves. These concepts will constitute the program of a new government in which the people will express their confidence through elections.

Look, when has liberalism been better than Socialism in this past period of history? Liberalism has defeated Socialism because it has been able to adapt itself to the changing world situation. It took, inherited, and borrowed a lot of things from Socialism, especially the social programs from the social revolution. I am also observing the Social Democrats who are in power and who favor Socialist values. They have also borrowed something from the liberal values, that is, that which greatly interests and motivates society. I think we have a rich experience that will allow us to reach to this new paradigm, to these coordinates, on whose basis we will build a new society.

We will not invent a new plan, like a train chart and timetable. We cannot say that we will reach such a point at such an hour, that we will make something at such time, that we are going to take a step to the right, and then make something else. We must start from the basis that we are convinced democrats and that the main value for us is freedom, man, and his rights. Society must be capable of creating optimum conditions to make man feel like a human being and as the objective and means of this society. I think that if we choose this path, this objective, it will be a far more correct option. I am convinced of this. I spoke about this conviction at the 19th International Socialist congress in Berlin.

I think that the concept of creating a Socialist society is unrealistic, and it has not been confirmed in history. I am also sure that you, with young and curious minds, will not be able to find arguments in favor of any purely capitalistic country. I do not know of the existence of any such country.

[Grondona] The impression I have so far of this program, given Gorbachev's answers to the students, and with everything that is going on now, is that, I do not know, we are like in a country looking at an egg, a creature that is breaking the shell from inside, trying to get outside. The new thought is here, seeking a way out. Perhaps before the night ends we may be able to see a glimpse of the new being that wants to be born. I have this sensation, that a new being wants to be born. In our next segment we will have Ernesto Sabato and Mikhail Gorbachev.

Gorbachev says he cannot be more brief because the questions he is being asked are so deep that they require a conference. I also understand what it means to ask the man who has changed—and who wants to continue changing—history to be brief. Let us see if we can sense something of this new thought before the end of the night.

Thank you for being here Mr. Ernesto Sabato. Here is Mr. Jorge Romero from the Colloquium Foundation which has brought Mr. Gorbachev here and which is sponsoring a very important seminar with him tomorrow at 1800.

Ernesto, I am not asking you to speak in Russian, but please speak.

[Sabato] I understand Russian.

[Gorbachev] Yesterday we had the chance to know each other more intimately and it has been a very pleasant conversation.

[Sabato] My questions are in fact short. For example, why does an apple fall? Newton has answered this.

[Grondona] Do not stimulate him.

[Sabato] I mean it is impossible to answer in a few words, questions about the great problems of our times. William James has said that history is infinitely novel. Present history is proving the truth of this phrase by William James. All the old dogmas, and Mr. Gorbachev is right about this, are in a crisis. There are people who still believe that mechanical progress, technocratic progress means the future. This, to speak the truth, belongs to the past because it is driving us to the total destruction of the planet. I do not mean only spiritual destruction alone, but also physical destruction. I am not sure, but in three or four decades there will not be enough oxygen. The ozone layer will probably be destroyed. The great forests will be mortally depleted. That is, these realists are destroying all genres of reality.

As for the classic principles of capitalism and socialism, they belong to an archaeological past. Both capitalism of the masses, the United states for example, as well as Communism of the masses, like the Soviet Union, have failed. The whole problem of history must be reconsidered.

Mr. Gorbachev made a statement demonstrating a point of view which I am happy to share. This man, who has generated one of the most extraordinary political phenomenon of this century, has said: We must think in completely new and bold terms. The center of our problem is mankind, contrary to the robot of mass society. Our hyper-technical progress is leading us toward the decay of our planet in a few decades, not only physical decay but also the spiritual decay of man.

I mean this whole dark rebellion that is currently taking place in the whole world is paradoxically being demonstrated through the drug addiction of youths who are seeking artificial paradises. This cannot continue anymore. In the most industrialized country of the world, that is, the United States, which has 250 million inhabitants out of the 6 billion inhabitants of the whole world, consumes 80 percent of the world's drugs. What kind of progress is this? Is this what the youth are rebelling for?

[Gorbachev] A country that consumes nearly 50 percent of the energetic resources.

[Sabato] Of course. Therefore, what kind of progress are we talking about? Where is this progress leading us? In our country, in all our poor countries, people despair for having lost the train of hyper development. We ought to be happy. Extremely developed countries like Japan, which will eventually spiritually and psychologically explode, will want to come to our poor countries to observe how human beings live. They will want to observe how families, sons, grandparents live. Grandparents no longer exist in hyperdeveloped countries. Where are they? They are either in luxurious geriatric homes, or there is a plan to import grandparents from Japan—I think Argentina is considering this to be a very good business. I am talking about the total destruction of the family, which is the characteristic of the concrete man of flesh and blood Mr. Gorbachev has spoke about.

During the Stalinist era, the Russian people—all peoples are more or less made up of the same things, there are love problems in all parts of the world—craved to return

to a human society. We must take from the past—those who judge the future—and from hyperdeveloped societies some positive things and throw away the rest, otherwise we will sink altogether.

[Grondona] What is your thought about the comment just made by Mr. Sabato?

[Gorbachev] I feel touched, and I want to especially stress an idea. We are late, we are late....

[Sabato] We are late.

[Gorbachev] We, the politicians, those who are thinking on how to maintain themselves in power for four years and to prepare themselves for future elections, we, those who are present here in this studio, the television viewers who are watching us, must think about the problems that flood us daily.

A terrible danger awaits us, which reminds me of the case of a mother who went to consult a pediatrician or psychologist about the following problem: I have a 3-year old child, when do you think I should dedicate myself to his education? The doctor said: You took three years to come lady, you are late.

The young people must understand that the conversation we are holding here today mainly is meant for them. It is a conversation they need. They currently must rise against what we are doing to the environment, to humanity, to morality. We must return to the human being within a human framework. We must change our values.

[Sabato] I wonder whether there will be time.

[Grondona] I would like to .... There is very little time for this bloc. Excuse me, I could spend my life talking with you, but I cannot. I will direct a question to any of the two, given that you agree so much and you apparently constitute a team. I ask either of the two: Isn't this vision too negative, too pessimistic?

[Sabato] Do you want a reply?

[Gorbachev] On my behalf, I can say that not even in the most difficult moments of my life, have I felt condemned. I belong to that category of human beings who are always sure they have an option. Down with panic, down with defeat. We cannot bend to the blows. We must resist the blows and seek the answers. This is why I think we must be very (brave) and rational. We will arrive at the conclusions by thinking. We must not leave green fruit and, much less, utopian programs to the young. We have saturated and tortured the people with all these programs. It is like the [word indistinct] bed. I am optimistic, but the key problem, and I say this as president of the International Green Cross, speaking about the future, how will we solve the basic problem, the human being, the environment?

[Grondona] I would say it is late, but not too late. Now, I want to say two things before continuing with the students on a second bloc. International relations experts will follow them. I want to say two things. Ernesto Sabato just told me that he is also optimistic because it is one thing to criticize in a way so as to leave no hope, and it is something else to issue a warning that unless we do something, something terrible may happen. This is not pessimism, because criticisms are a hope that things will get done. That is why one criticizes or goads, seeking a reaction. I think this is the spirit of Gorbachev and Sabato. Criticism is harsh, but not negative. These are two different concepts.

I also want to thank [journalist] Marcelo Longobardi for giving me his television space. He is arriving from, I do not where, Israel, or somewhere to which he has travelled. I invited him to our program and he may arrive anytime. He is always nervous and perhaps he will give you (trouble).

Well, now let us see if someone can formulate a question in Russian. There was a young man with rolled shirt sleeves, where is he? He has a journalist's last name. Is Casanseu around? Are you Casanseu? Casanseu junior, naturally. At your age you cannot but be the son.

[Casanseu] I am the second son. I have a question.

[Grondona] Make it in Russian.

[Casanseu] All right. [question in Russian]

[Gorbachev] Please translate Irina, what did he say?

[Casanseu] Why do you think you are so popular in Europe and in the rest of the world and not in the least popular in the Soviet Union?

[Gorbachev] I do not consider it this way.

[Casanseu] But why do they think like this in Russia?

[Grondona] Irina please translate to Russian.

[Gorbachev] The answer is very simple. No one is a prophet in his own land. I will not try to evade this question. What the people were offered in 1985 in Russia and in the Soviet Union was meant for discussion. It was received with great interest and support. The people had long been waiting for changes. I think that we generated a lot of hope, enormous hope, and a lot of good and fast changes. It was something like a revolution of hope.

In those days, we did not know how to foresee, recognize, or understand that our road from a totalitarian regime to a free and democratic society would be long and difficult. On the other hand, we committed mistakes. Our path had been very difficult. It generated a lot of hope for fast changes. However, it got complicated on account of the mistakes. We had to tell the truth just as it was. Everything had to be changed.

To think that everything could be changed so fast and that the three generations that were born and lived after the October Revolution, which is 90 percent of the

population of our country, that is, 300 million inhabitants, would understand us anyway, and that they would all decidedly support our position, especially when clashing with real interests and when the reform harmed their personal interests, well, it was very naive to think like this.

The duty of those reformers who offered the people so much was to explain honestly and tell them on time what would happen, in the most direct manner possible.

The disappointment over the changes which they expected to come soon, over the fact that the changes were not made, and over the difficulties is increasing. This sensation, this disappointment, generated many criticisms against the reformers, especially against Gorbachev, but it is part of the truth.

Every time I grant interviews to our newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, the youth newspaper to which I contribute monthly, I receive from 10,000 to 14,00 letters. Sixty percent of them are earnest advocates of those things which I started, and nearly all of them are younger than 40 years of age. What is more, people are increasingly understanding us. They are comparing our efforts with different points of view and methods to solve problems. People are beginning to understand Gorbachev a bit better. I think time will judge us and put each thing in its place.

I do not feel offended or insulted. I think great things can be appreciated from a distance. The people who are living very badly in our country and who have things mixed up in their minds seem to be sort of lost, but that is the destiny of all changes.

I hope the people will soon master the challenges, challenges which no other people ever met in their lives. They will then appropriately evaluate the courage of those who started this path and this nonstop struggle against a totalitarian regime with the objective of bringing freedom to this great nation and country.

[Grondona] I have a challenge for students here. We have just a few minutes left before the commercials because Gorbachev spent some time in answering the last question. I have the impression that Gorbachev is—intellectually that is—ready to give birth. I would like one of you to give him the chance to develop his central theme. You out there.

[(Ema Tomiasky]) My name is Ema Tomiasky. I am a political science student at the Argentine Catholic University. You mentioned the birth of a new civilization and the human being that will make that new civilization work. What would this new man retain from his past experiences and what new ideas will he have to provide.?

[Gorbachev] I would not like to look like a prophet, like those who try to draw pictures of the future, about the city of sun, about utopians, etc. Human beings must take human values from the past. He must take with him all that makes human beings different, like morality, conscience, the wisdom to share difficulties or to share his fellow man's sufferings. We also must take with us the lessons of past mistakes, the lessons of history, and the lessons derived from experience. Do not believe in schemes about a future civilization. The picture must be painted by all of us. The future will not be painted by a single artist, a single painter.

[Gronona] A short question before the commercial: Aren't those values you mentioned Christian values?

[Gorbachev] It is alright. They are the greatest human values.

[Grondona] In the next bloc, we will have the participation of international journalists in addition to students who might want to stay. [passage omitted]

[Grondona] We still have 28 minutes. I envy those who will attend the meeting at the Coliseo Theater tomorrow with Domingo Cavallo, Guido Di Tella, Dante Caputo, Terragno [not further identified] and Gorbachev. They will have three to four hours to continue this discussion. At night there is a meeting with Bernardo Neustadt that will close this Gorbachev tour. First, I would like to introduce Jorge Castro and Carlos Perellana who will ask the next questions. Then, we will let Gorbachev draw some conclusions. I think there are important conclusions. I would like to show Gorbachev the results of a survey conducted among the people in the capital and larger Buenos Aires. We asked their opinion of Gorbachev. Javier [Grondona's assistant] will read the results.

[Javier] Twenty eight percent of those questioned answered that Gorbachev was a statesman, thanks to whom the Communist world recovered its freedoms; 25.3 percent of those questioned said Gorbachev was a stateman, thanks to whom the cold war ended and the danger of nuclear war disappeared; 6 percent said he was the apprentice of a witch because he began a process that he could not control; 9 percent said the Soviet Union split into 15 pieces because of his lack of expertise; 19.9 percent said he is famous internationally but he is not loved in his country; and 11.7 percent did not have an opinion.

[Grondona] What is your opinion about these results?

[Gorbachev] I will not participate in Argentina's upcoming electoral campaign.

[Grondona] Great, great. [applause]

[Jorge Castro] Before embarking on the theme of the new civilization, I would like to ask Mr. Gorbachev something about his experiences. In Russia, the gross domestic product dropped by 40 percent in the past two years, in the Caucasus region three serious wars—perhaps as serious as the one in Yugoslavia—are ravaging the region. A similar conflict broke out in central Asia. Do you still think—as you thought in March

1985—that the Communist system can be reformed from the top. If you changed your mind, when did you do so?

[Gorbachev] The country is immense, it was governed by the monopolistic rule of a single party, it had a single ownership system with people speaking nearly 200 different languages, militarization was at a peak. Under those conditions, we could not expect changes to begin at the lower levels of society. Under those conditions, any other path would have lead us to the shedding of blood and civil wars. It was impossible to expect anything else. We needed the support of the group of reformers who were conscious of reality and all that society had to go through with the Communist model, the Stalinist model. That is why we had to start from the top. Besides, this was not the first attempt at reform.

Two years later, however, we became aware that the nomenclature was beginning to resist changes within the party and within the administration because its power was threatened. I am referring to all that happened within the framework of perestroyka and democratization, acts of sabotage against perestroyka. Every available factor and mechanism were put into motion to stop perestroyka.

The system began to protect itself and the revolution was beginning to lose strength. Only the true participation of the people, of residents, of the citizens in this process was able to save the situation. It was not possible to do that without political reform. What we did was to divide the functions of the party and of the state and agreed to the first truly free elections in our country.

We had the elections. The reformist wing within the leadership, under the powerful pressure exerted upward by the new democratic mechanisms and institutions, shall we say, was already making progress. At that precise moment, it became clear that we had to dismantle the totalitarian regime with is entire structure. All that happened between 1989 and 1990.

Thus, an opinion emerged admitting political pluralism, the concept of property, a pluralist ownership of property, of the different ways of thinking, and finally, the need was accepted to reform our multinational state to move toward an alliance, a union of sovereign states.

The idea about the need to reform the party itself was accepted and a social democrat-type program was promoted. Thus, we retook the initiative from the reactionary forces, which began to realize that they were losing the battle.

When in August 1989 they chose to plot a coup d'etat as a means of action, that was an adventure on their part. They could no longer do anything. Yet, they bothered us because they caused the perestroyka process to move off its own course. I sought to bring about radical, revolutionary reforms through evolutive tactics, paths; without any type of division within society, without (?affecting) civil rights. However, I could not achieve all that I wanted to achieve.

Yet if I had to start it all over again I would not use a different option. I could perhaps have used different tactics in different stages.

[Perellana] Well, part of the question I meant to ask was already answered by Mr. Gorbachev. I believe that for the West and for the world he, Gorbachev, is a reformist who dismantled a system which was believed to be irreversible. After the first few years of change, we can see that the emerging leaders, who are nationalists, come from the Communist Party ranks, such as the Ukranian president, the presidents of Asian states, the Romanian elections, the Lithuanian elections. My question is: In your reform proposal, Mr. Gorbachev, do you believe that the reformists should come from society or should they be former nomenclature members?

[Grondona] I want to explain that nomenclature in the Soviet Union means the party bureaucracy.

[Gorbachev] I think all that could be created in the past era was created. It created the reformers. Reformers represented the reaction to confrontations and contradictions and society's growing rejection of the values that led the nation to the present state of affairs. People with radical proposals appeared. It was clear that for reform to take off, and for the democratic reform process to continue, it was necessary to create democratic institutions capable of selecting new and young democratic forces. Forces selected by society and not exclusively from the ranks of the party bureaucracy.

[Grondona] In the next segment we will have a few minutes for students to ask questions. Then I will ask the last two or three questions and make my own conclusion, in front of him, so that he can correct me or reply if necessary. In this program, even he has the right to reply. [passage omitted]

[Grondona] You cannot imagine the number of telephone calls I have been receiving. I feel an obligation to them and I am going to select at least one call before going to the last two questions from students and our conclusions. This question is important for us and it also is something very serious in Russia. Roberto de Villaduro asks how bad is corruption in Russia.

[Gorbachev] Corruption in itself is very bad from the point of view of the people's interests. Corruption is flourishing at this time. What worries us a lot—today we already have some new structures to deal with the problem—is to implement the reforms and the democratic process as quickly as possible.

[Grondona] I asked that question because Russia also has a serious corruption problem. [Words indistinct]. Young lady please tell us your name and your question.

[(Alexandra Ruskoy)] My name is (Alexandra Ruskoy) and if I do not speak Russian it is because of the Cold

War. In view of remarks that politicians must indulge in self-criticism, and looking at the perestroyka process from a distance, did you expect the process to end this way? Do you feel overtaken by events? How would you describe your performance?

[Gorbachev] When I analyze my own performance, I think more of what I could have done and did not do. First, I think we underestimated the ethnic problem. In Russia, where the situation is quite complex and where so many different peoples and so many different ethnic groups and nations coexist, we could not implement an adequate ethnic policy. We became aware of the problem too late. I think it was our gravest mistake. I also think that the two processes of destroying the old and building new structures did not develop simultaneously. We dismantled the old structures but we were late in creating new structures capable of taking over the old ones' responsibility. Our society felt the instability resulting from the destruction of one system without the effective implementation of another to take its place. I think I did not appreciate properly, and in due time, the meaning of more solid interaction with the new democratic forces that were being created during the perestroyka process. I could talk a lot about this topic. The rest will appear in my book. I am quite capable of self-criticism.

[Grondona] Well, I know that no one from the University of Belgrano has asked questions yet. You, the young lady in white over there, would you like to ask a question?

[Lopardo] My name is Maria Paula Lopardo and I am going for my masters degree in international economic policy at the University of Belgrano. I want to ask you how you view the future of the only country still implementing a communist regime, that is, the government of Fidel Castro in Cuba?

[Gorbachev] I am sure that those processes that have spread to all continents have one way or another had a bearing on the domestic life of each country, without exception. I am not even referring to international relations. Everything is clear in this area, is it not? Well, these changes are creating an atmosphere that will influence the Cuban internal process and already are influencing it, but what do I think our position should be? If we are to follow the advice of some, Cuba should be isolated. Well, I think this would be a serious mistake.

The Cuban people deserve respect in light of what they have done, of the responsibilities they have assumed at a certain point, and of the qualities they have demonstrated and continue to demonstrate today. I believe Cuba is particularly interested in a more organized participation in all those democratic changes and processes that currently are taking place in the Latin American continent.

I am sure Cuba will move in the same direction we all are taking. I am profoundly convinced of that. Cubans are confronted with a much more difficult task in certain things, but each country has its own path and destiny. They may go in the same direction despite having different problems. I am convinced that they will achieve that to which they are entitled.

[Grondona] Mr. Gorbachev is behaving so well with his answers, which are so short, that I have time for another question. Let us see.... Yes, the people of Cordoba. You are some of the few people still staying in Cordoba, because most Cordoba residents have moved to the federal capital; Cavallo and those of the Mediterranean Foundation are residing here. Well, apparently some Cordoba residents are still there. Go ahead.

[Unidentified student] I want to focus on the Latin American situation. Until the collapse of the Berlin Wall, until the downfall of the Soviet Union, the underdeveloped countries—the Latin American countries included—had the socialist system as an alternative option. They often played their foreign policy chips by exerting pressure on developed countries and achieved their objectives through negotiations by using the possibility of joining the socialist bloc as a bargaining chip. After the Berlin Wall's collapse, the developed countries no longer have to worry about this bargaining chip, and the underdeveloped countries have lost a banner, if you will. In your opinion, what prospects do the underdeveloped countries have in a world so heavily dominated by capitalism?

[Gorbachev] You're completely right in your conclusion. I believe those things happened due to errors committed by Western politicians. We have the impression that many of them used the underdeveloped countries as a card in their games and now that the East-West problem no longer exists, or that it has acquired a different nature, some politicians have completely lost interest in this problem, in the North-South problem, and in the developing world. Well, this does not mean that Third World countries will be able to solve their own problems. Furthermore, the gap existing between development and underdevelopment is widening. Instead of decreasing, poverty has worsened. I believe that precisely today we stand better chances because there is interaction between the East and West, because they are cooperating with each other, thus creating conditions that are much more conducive to formulating entirely new approaches to solving the North-South problem.

I am planning to give a lecture on this subject during my visit to Latin America. I will attempt to draw a much broader picture of my concepts and my opinions on the subject.

[Grondona] Well, I believe all of us who are here in the studios today, as well as our viewers at home, can start drawing conclusions from this program, which has had a very high level and has touched on global topics having a bearing on the Argentine people, as well as on other peoples, Russians included. I want to ask Gorbachev a last question before I give my conclusions. Naturally, after my conclusions, I will allow him to make his closing remarks so that he also may draw his own conclusions.

Mr. Gorbachev, I want to ask you a very personal, direct question. Do you believe in God?

[Gorbachev] I believe in man.

[Grondona] Your answers are always so short. [laughter] Well, I want to draw my conclusions. As I said at the opening of our program, I regard Gorbachev not as a tragic figure, but as a dramatic figure in history. When systems are rigid as icebergs, someone will come to crack them open. I would say that it is virtually impossible for anyone cracking an iceberg to keep the melting process under control.

This is why, at the beginning of this program, I compared Gorbachev to figures such as Mirabeu of the French Revolution. Mirabeau tried to save the revolution by leading it toward an intermediate level through a constitutional monarchy. He did not succeed. The revolution took its own course.

I also compared Gorbachev to men such as Saavedra and Liniers in Argentina, who wanted to reconcile the old with the new. They were followed by men like Moreno, Castelli, and their likes, and the process took a radical course.

Gorbachev also may be compared to his own fellow countryman, Kerenskiy, a very noble figure, who in 1917 wanted to make the Tsarist regime move somehow toward an orderly, conditioned democracy. Kerenskiy too was ultimately washed away by the whirlwind of fanaticism.

Well, many questions—self-criticism and so forth—were asked about what may be considered Gorbachev's failure. The question is: Has Gorbachev failed?

I have commented sometimes on how we used to discuss the French Revolution at the University of Harvard. Showing envy, the American students used to claim that they had had a successful revolution, but that everyone kept talking about the other revolution, which turned out to be a big failure. However, it was such a glorious failure that opened such broad prospects for mankind that it was a worthwhile failure. This is a paradox, is it not? When one cracks a closed system open and when he takes the short-cut, or he acts like an improvising sorcerer who does not know what lies ahead, or he just opens Pandora's box, one can say that he has failed. The question, however, should be asked the other way around. What would have happened had he not opened Pandora's box? This is something like a successful failure or a glorious failure. Or it was a necessary failure in history.

Now, the second thing I wanted to say is that I was interested here tonight—and I am much more interested after tonight—not only in the man who played that crucial historic role, but in the man who drew lessons from what happened and who has acquired a global vision precisely because he failed. One primarily learns from his errors; one does not learn from his successful actions. We humans are erring beings. We learn because we make mistakes. Gorbachev has learned to have a vision.

I would like to briefly summarize Gorbachev's vision, the way I see it. I hope everyone knows a book that is very well known and famous in all universities. It is a book entitled: The Structure of Scientific Revolutions [La Estructura de las Revoluciones Cientificas] written by Thomas Kuhn. He wrote the book about 20 or 25 years ago. He contends that sciences move on the basis of paradigms. For instance, the world of Newton is based on the law of gravity. Paradigms begin to lose credibility and they are no longer useful to explain new things in times of crisis. Old paradigms are no longer adequate to explain new things, which are beyond the knowledge of intellectuals.

I believe that what we should conclude here tonight is that our paradigms during the Cold War were all neatly organized: Capitalism, communism, democracy, totalitarianism, liberalism, socialism. All these isms, which were regional and sectarian isms, are no longer useful to explain what is happening today. We are experiencing a crisis of ideas and we are seeking to formulate new paradigms.

Looking ahead to new paradigms, I regard as fascinating the agreement—which was not preconceived—expressed here tonight by Gorbachev and Sabato. It can be summed up as follows: The advanced countries have obviously made an enormous contribution through their scientific, economic, and technological revolutions. Underdeveloped countries, Argentina and Russia included, retain the human essence. It is as though we preserved the human essence, perhaps because we have been unable to change it. It is a priceless asset that we should not lose.

Thus, when we indulge in analytical work, when we seek new guidelines for ideas, one must realize that the new paradigms can be boiled down to humanizing technical and economic progress. Human nature is within us. We have grandparents, uncles, cousins, and horses. This is worth something. It is not worth much within a reactionary system in which one might say I do not want more than that. It is useful to receive and collect technological know-how mastered by others who no longer have either grandparents or horses.

This is my conclusion. I would like to ask Mr. Gorbachev to make his closing remarks.

[Gorbachev] I was asked in Spain if I considered myself to be an unsuccessful politician. I said I did not. The thing is that a battle continues as long as the military commander does not give up his strategic goals. I am convinced about what was started within the framework of perestroyka, about the new mentality. This has been our common option for many decades to come. The last chapter of my book of memoirs will be entitled: Everything Lies in the Future.

[Grondona] Thank you. [applause]

Brazil

Second Stage of Privatizations To Begin

PY2711230492 Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 25 Nov 92 p 23

[Text] Sao Paulo—The Federal Government already is preparing the rules of the game for the second stage of the privatization program, which will include enterprises in the fields of electricity, nuclear energy, oil, telecommunications, and infrastructure. According to Planning Minister Paulo Haddad, the government believes these sector need a more elaborate sales process. Haddad believes the Vale do Rio Doce Company could be used as a model for the privatization of the enterprises in these fields. He recalled that the government is a minor shareholder in the Vale do Rio Doce Company while it is the other shareholders who manage the enterprise.

"We want the effective participation of Congress in the privatization of these sectors," the minister said.

The original privatization schedule that provided for the sale of 16 enterprises by 17 March 1993, and which also established the regulations regarding the use of public bonds as a currency, will be maintained, the minister guaranteed.

According to Haddad, the Ultrafertil Company case had a specific problem: the difference of more than 20 percent in the evaluation of the company's assets that was made by the two consulting firms, thus the canceling of last week's auction. The state-owned company now will be auctioned off on 3 December. The minister said that he sees no problems regarding the auction of the National Steel Company (CSN) on 22 December despite the historically emblematic nature of the company.

Resignations Aggravate Plans

PY2711212792 Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 25 Nov 92 p 1

[Article by Jo Galazi]

[Text] Rio de Janeiro—The situation of the privatization program worsened yesterday after the resignations of two of the more active members of the National Privatization Program (PDN) board of directors: lawyers Carlos Eduardo Bulhoes Pedreira and Nelson Eizirick. Their separation leaves the privatization program in a fragile situation bordering on total impotence. The resignations were confirmed by the National Bank for Economic and Social Development (BNDES). The crisis broke out after interim President Itamar Franco's suspension of the auction to privatize Ultrafertil on 19 November. The presidential decision also provoked a request for the dismissal of BNDES Vice President Marcos Vianna.

According to BNDES board of directors chief Sergio Bessermann, the exit of the two lawyers, followed by the exit of their alternates, did not leave the commission without the minimum number of five members needed to operate or without the quorum of six members needed for the meetings where all decisions on privatization auctions and the continuation of the program itself are made. The numbers, however, show the fragility of the situation of the commission, whose members must be confirmed by Congress.

In order to have eight members and guarantee its operations, the commission must have three more members. One of them might be BNDES Vice President Jose Pio Borges. He resigned when the government changed hands, but the decree accepting his resignation was not signed until today. The second member might be former Planning Minister Joao Paulo dos Reis Velloso, who was appointed but not installed. The third member might be Mario de Salles Oliveira Malta Junior, who is in the same situation as Pio Borges. A fourth possibility is BNDES President Antonio Barros de Castro himself, but his appointment has not been approved yet by Congress.

Regarding the question of the needed quorum, the quickest solution will be to install Reis Velloso. Besides Reis Velloso, and without counting Pio Borges and Mario Malta, the other commission members are Oscar Dias Leite, Geraldo Hess, Elizabeth Cechin (alternate for former Economy Ministry executive secretary Luiz Antonio Goncalves), Marcelo Affonso Monteiro (alternate for the Labor Ministry representative), and Luiz Andre Rico Vicente.

An additional problem is that Ultrafertil's general shareholders meeting scheduled for yesterday, after being postponed several times, was moved to 1300 today. The assembly must analyze the minimum price of $203.5 million (1.9 trillion cruzeiros) set to privatize the firm. However, it cannot discuss the item because it does not have instructions from Petrofertil, its largest shareholder, which is a public company in the field of fertilizers. Petrofertil is presumably resisting Ultrafertil's privatization because it will force it to close down.

BNDES President Antonio Barros yesterday lunched with Joel Renno, president of Petrobras [Brazilian Petroleum Corporation], the firm that controls Petrofertil. According to BNDES Vice President Marcos Vianna, Renno approved Ultrafertil's price last week. Up until now Petrofertil had preferred to keep Ultrafertil's shareholders meeting open, which, according to the Consultant's General Office, is legally preventing the auction from taking place.

Chile

Peruvian Political Refugee Polack Merell Arrives

PY0312131992 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1000 GMT 3 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Peruvian entrepreneur Jorge Polack Merell, a political refugee who sought asylum in our embassy in

Lima, has arrived aboard a regular LAN-Chile [Chilean National Airline] flight. He made no comments to the press. Polack is one of the two civilians arrested on 12 November on charges of alleged involvement in the attempt to oust Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori.

The LAN-Chile plane landed at Comodoro Arturo Merino Benitez airport 15 minutes ahead of schedule.

Polack and the other passengers left the plane, and after going through customs, officials took him away through a back door.

According to Foreign Ministry reports, Polack Merell—in his capacity as a political refugee—may not make any public statement but can move without restrictions in Chilean territory. [passage omitted]

Rojas Negotiates Cooperation With Germany

PY0312135892 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1000 GMT 3 Dec 92

[Text] Military relations between Chile and Germany will be promoted following a visit that Defense Minister Patricio Rojas is paying to that country. In a phone conversation with journalists, Rojas emphasized the warm welcome that his German counterpart Volker Ruehe gave him. Rojas added that the German minister expressed his desire to begin a new stage of military cooperation. Rojas explained that Chilean officers will be admitted to German Armed Forces academies and universities, while German soldiers will be admitted to courses in Chile, such as naval and mountain training courses.

Rojas ruled out any negotiations for purchasing weapons.

[Begin Rojas recording] I want to exclude any other type of cooperation or negotiation that might be interpreted as a search for German weapons or equipment for Chile. This is not on our agenda, which refers exclusively to cooperation in the area of military education and training of officers—as I said—of various ranks of our Armed Forces. [end recording]

Before ending his visit on 6 December, Rojas will visit several German Armed Forces institutions.

Concluding his visit, Rojas will travel to the Vatican for a private audience with Pope John Paul II, which has nothing to do with his official visit to Europe.

Mikhail Gorbachev Arrives in Santiago For Visit

PY0412011092 Santiago Television Nacional de Chile Imagen Internacional in Spanish 2330 GMT 3 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev arrived in the country a little less than half an hour ago from Argentina. He is one of the most important world political figures, who is making a tour of Latin America. Reporter Maria Cristina Arancibia will now give us further details from Pudahuel Airport. How are you, Maria Cristina?

[Begin recording] Very well, Bernardo. I want to tell you that it is now 2050 [2350 GMT] and we are reporting directly from the Santiago airport. In fact, former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev arrived at approximately 2015 at this airport with a one-hour delay. He arrived aboard the Argentine presidential plane. We must recall that he is coming from Buenos Aires.

At the airport he was welcomed by the Santiago mayor and his wife, some congressmen, and businessmen. I also want to tell you that the former Soviet leader and Nobel Prize winner is accompanied by his wife and a retinue of 14 professors and advisers from the Gorbachev foundation, created by him upon abandoning power. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Colombia

Francisco Galan, 'Top' ELN Leader Arrested

PY0412012992 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0024 GMT 4 Dec 92

[Text] Bucaramanga (Colombia), 3 Dec (EFE)—Officials have reported that Francisco Galan, one of the top leaders of the Marxist Army of National Liberation (ELN), was arrested on 3 December by a military unit in northern Colombia.

A military spokesman said Galan was arrested—thanks to an informer who, for security reasons, was not identified—in a house in San Martin, Cesar Department.

The arrest was carried out by members of the 5th Military Brigade headquartered in Bucaramanga, Santander departmental capital.

The official sources reported that Galan was one of the ELN negotiators in the frustrated peace talks the government of President Cesar Gaviria held with the Simon Bolivar Guerrilla Coordinating Board (CGSB) until last May.

The same sources reported that Galan is accused of terrorist actions against the Cano Limon-Covenas oil pipeline, the main pipeline in the country and a favorite ELN target. The ELN claims that the attacks are a way of preventing the country's wealth from being plundered by multinational companies.

Galan also is held responsible for having regularly threatened the newspaper VANGUARDIA LIBERAL in Bucaramanga, which has always criticized the warmongering ELN attitude.

Francisco Galan, together with former Spanish priest Manuel Perez, Nicolas Rodriguez ("Gabino"), and Manuel Marulanda ("Tirofijo"), is one of the top ELN leaders.

The ELN is tied to the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and to a small dissident group of the dismantled Popular Liberation Army (EPL), all of them within the CGSB.

The military sources have reported that Galan was taken under strict security measures from San Martin to Bucaramanga, where he is being held at the 5th Brigade.

The Colombian Government is offering approximately $1.2 million in cash for Galan and the other guerrilla leaders.

'Second in Command' Arrested

PA0412042092 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0130 GMT 4 Dec 92

[Text] Thanks to information from a citizen, the Unase [Anti-Extortion and Kidnapping Unit] arrested Francisco Galan, leader of the ELN [Army of National Liberation], in Bucaramanga on the morning of 3 December.

Francisco Galan, a 51-year-old lawyer, admitted before the Santander Regional Prosecutor's Office that he is an ELN leader. He is expected to provide valuable information in the next few hours to help find the whereabouts of other ELN leaders. Immediately after his confession, the ELN's second in command began to be questioned by the prosecutor who must issue the warrant for his arrest on charges of terrorism within 10 working days. At this time, Galan is being held under tight security at a military garrison in Bucaramanga. He might be transferred to the Colombian capital.

Galan, the initial spokesman of the ELN in the peace talks in Caracas in July 1991, entered the guerrilla ranks in 1978 and since 1991 was considered second in command of the ELN after Father Manuel Perez. He initially worked in support of a rural network of the insurgent group operating in the Colombian coastal region. He currently is known as the political leader of the subversive organization. His real name is Mario Pieschacon Negrini. He was arrested in El Diamante neighborhood in Bucaramanga. The Army said he was arrested thanks to information from a citizen who will obtain a reward.

[Begin Army Commander Hernan Guzman recording] Of course, the reward will be paid. It has our support and that of the government. We will make sure that it is paid. [end recording]

At the time of his arrest, the following were found in Galan's possession: a revolver, a fragmentation grenade, a false identity card under the name of Alejandro Rodriguez, a journalist identification card from a company called Artv, documents with the location of petroleum fields, and a document called manifesto against the all-out war.

Car Bomb Explodes in Medellin; 14 People Dead

PA0312130292 Santa Fe de Bogota Emisoras Caracol Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 3 Dec 92

[Report by Jairo Calle]

[Text] Attention: Fourteen people have died in a car bomb explosion in the western sector of Medellin. The authorities have confirmed the death of Jorge Alberto Paez Correa following emergency surgery. General Jairo Antonio Rodriguez, Metropolitan Police commander, and Gen. Mario Hugo Galan, 4th Brigade commander, are holding an emergency meeting at this time to analyze the delicate situation in Medellin.

Communique Condemns Attack

PA0412015792 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 1630 GMT 3 Dec 92

[Text] The entire country has condemned the terrorist attack that took place in Medellin on the evening of 2 December. The government minister issued a communique not only repudiating the incident, but asking citizens to report those who mastermind and carry out terrorist attacks.

Envigado Raid Proves Unsuccessful in Escobar Search

PA0312150692 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 2300 GMT 1 Dec 92

[Text] On 1 December, the authorities carried out an unprecedented raid against the Medellin Cartel in the city and neighboring towns. For several hours, buildings and houses in Envigado were searched for Pablo Escobar, who is the only escapee from the La Catedral prison who has not yet surrendered.

It was impossible to confirm if Escobar was there. An anonymous call had reported his presence in the apartment building near Envigado's main square. Unexpectedly at 0900, hundreds of soldiers and policemen formed a security ring around the area. Traffic and the passage of pedestrians were banned and all commercial activities were stopped. The center of Envigado was closed off for three hours. Only special forces were active in the area.

With the zone secured, the 32 apartments of the metropolitan building were searched. Several relatives of the La Catedral inmates—wives, daughters, aunts, and parents of John Jairo Betancur, Jorge Eduardo Avendano, and Juan Enrique Urquijo—were found to be living in the building. According to the authorities, these persons were asked some questions, but were not detained. The authorities were searching for Escobar, but there was no trace of him.

Communists Party Predicts 'Insurrection and Civil War'

PA0312181292 Santa Fe de Bogota EL NUEVO SIGLO in Spanish 26 Nov 92 p 6A

[Text] A first, hypothetical answer to the antisubversive policy of "all-out confrontation" announced by President Cesar Gaviria was recently given by the Colombian Communist Party-Marxist Leninist Faction [PCC-ML]. Party leader Francisco Caraballo raised the possibility of an "insurrection and civil war" as well as the consolidation of local governments in those zones and regions where "the presence of the state" has been displaced.

Caraballo and his team stated that "the work of sympathizers, and the political and military mobilization of these groups, are imperatives of the time. [no closing quotation marks as published]

They contemptuously refer to the military and police, calling them "gorillas." "The false claims used nowadays by the gorillas are obvious and their failures are evident. Their morale and pride have been affected."

The armed branch of the PCC-ML, which is headed by Caraballo, is part of the old Popular Liberation Army.

The group recently held its fourth convention. At its conclusion it announced that "we consciously take on the task of fighting for the destruction of the system that supports repression and an exploitation that is suffocating us."

The convention found that "the guerrilla movement, supported by a vast popular movement, is displacing the state from some zones and regions. This fact is encouraging to the revolutionary forces and is one of the state's most pressing concerns."

The official convention document reports that "we continue to believe that revolutionary struggle in Colombia is closely linked to civil war, and the spreading of insurrection is the only course to follow to destroy the burgeoise pro-imperialist state."

"Until we accomplish this destruction at a national level, it is imperative that we not distract our thoughts and mass activities with close, partial victories that are easily reversed in the short term by our enemies."

The immediate objective is "to raise voices of opposition to the government that will question its legitimacy—voices of insurgents, subversives, revolutionaries, and communists in a Colombia that with each passing day will begin to question the government's death certificates issued against the possibility of a revolutionary victory."

Simultaneously, Caraballo's guerrilla group plans to "support and work toward local power that is obtained through political, social, economic, military, and administrative clout attained by the popular movement in specific areas."

"Conditions also demand that we establish a clandestine movement of the masses, capable of uniting numerous popular organizations around institutionalized forms of mass struggle."

The Caraballo group admits that "it has been the object of a ruthless ideological and political offensive, as well as harassment without respite." He affirms to the movement's active membership that he has not only resisted "the pressure, but that popular organizations are multiplying" and are offering "their activities to the service of revolutionary unity and the search for common objectives."

Everything that came out during the Colombian Communist Party-Marxist Leninist Faction's fourth convention is detailed in the 424th edition of REVOLUTION, the board of directors of which is formed by Francisco Caraballo, Gabriela Londono, Danillo Trujillo, Eduardo Ramirez, and Carlos Evelio Ramirez.

Ecuador

Petroecuador President on Withdrawal from OPEC

PA0412041792 Quito Voz de los Andes in Spanish 2200 GMT 3 Dec 92

[Text] Ecuador, whose decision to withdraw from the OPEC was accepted on 27 November in Vienna, says that by the end of 1993 it plans to increase its production of crude to 385,000 barrels per day.

Ricardo Estrada, executive president of the Ecuadoran State Petroleum Enterprise, Petroecuador, made the announcement on 3 December after informing acting President Alberto Dahik.

[Begin recording] [Estrada] Our market has not and will not be affected by our withdrawal from OPEC. Unfortunately, certain media sources have published remarks to that effect by certain individuals. That definitely is not my opinion. Ecuador's withdrawal from OPEC will allow the country to act freely with regard to production quotas. We are obviously not limited to a quota; we can produce at our maximum capacity and generate the income the country needs for its economic growth.

[Unidentified reporter] It is possible for Ecuador—as an independent country that is not a member of OPEC—to sell oil under favorable conditions? (?Would OPEC exert pressure on the markets to bring about favorable conditions?)

[Estrada] You are mistaken on that point; when OPEC sets a production ceiling all it does is say: gentlemen, OPEC is restricting the oil market to prevent oil prices from increasing. [as heard] That, however, has nothing to do with each member country's oil sales. Each country is free to trade with whomever they wish to, but they must adhere to internal policies. This is what Ecuador has always done. [end recording]

The advantage we have at this time is that by withdrawing from OPEC we do not have to pay a quota of approximately $1.8 million annually, Estrada concluded.

Bomb Explodes at Emetel Branch; No Casualties

PA0312145992 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1420 GMT 3 Dec 92

[Text] Quito, 3 Dec (EFE)—A powerful bomb exploded on the morning of 3 December at a branch of the State-Owned Telecommunications Company [Emetel] in Quito, the police have reported.

EFE confirmed the explosion caused heavy structural damage, but no casualties because the offices were vacant at the time.

The explosion occurred at about 0400 (0800 GMT) and the perpetrators and cause of the attack are not yet known.

The police added that several sticks of dynamite were planted inside the Emetel building and that the explosion shattered the windows of nearby buildings.

Army Commander General on U.S. Troop Exercise

PA0312190092 Quito Voz de los Andes in Spanish 1100 GMT 3 Dec 92

[Text] General Carlomagno Andrade, commander general of the Army, has reported U.S. troops are engaged in a counternarcotics exercise in Ecuador's northern border zone. Gen. Andrade added that the exercises are periodically carried out according to an established program and that approximately 45 U.S. soldiers are participating in the operation.

Gen. Andrade has denied the statements by Deputy Diego Delgado, who said approximately 300 U.S. and Israeli soldiers are in Sucumbios Province. He said there is not a single Israeli soldier in the country.

The Army commander general said the U.S. soldiers are at the northern border with Colombia to carry out a counternarcotics exercise.

Paraguay

Further on Denial of Colorado, Argentine Aid Charge

Rodriguez Denies Reported Secret Pact

PY0312220492 Asuncion ULTIMA HORA in Spanish 3 Dec 92 p 2

[Text] Paraguayan President General Andres Rodriguez this morning categorically denied that he had met or made a pact with Luis Maria Argana, the Colorado Party politician running for the official candidacy for president of the Republic. President Rodriguez in this manner rejected press reports on a recent meeting between the two.

The president early this morning called a news conference to give this explanation and to deny the report by the weekly LA CORBATA on the matter. "I have called you to this meeting to tell you that I categorically deny that I have met in any place with that man (Argana), much less in a secret place."

Rodriguez explained that the press and the people know perfectly well that not long ago he called to Government Palace, the Colorado Party executive board president and the four party candidates to a meeting to discuss the elections. "He was one of those who did not even bother answering whether he would or would not attend that meeting, and I could hardly seek an opportunity to talk to that individual or to make a secret pact," he said.

Visibly irritated and fully convincing, Rodriguez said that "there will be no secret pact with that man (Argana). You know perfectly well that I have risked my life and those of my family to take that man (Stroessner) out of that authoritarian, totalitarian regime he had maintained for so many years in Paraguay. I positively know that this man (Argana) is connected with that man who lives in Brasilia today (Stroessner) and who—I do not know what commitment there is between the two—is in fact related to Argana."

Rodriguez added that "for this reason there can never be a secret pact with this man who aspires to the candidacy of the Colorado Party for the presidential elections. So, I could never keep relations with him to make a secret pact—by no means. You know perfectly well that in this political campaign he (Argana) is conducting, he is accusing the government of everything he thinks the government is doing wrong. There must be something I am doing wrong, but he did not even bother mentioning the many good things achieved."

Rodriguez time and again repeated that "such things did not exist," no meeting nor pact whatsoever, and went on to say emphatically: "Such things have never existed nor will ever exist with that man (Argana)."

He recalled that opposition political leaders went to talk to him, "giving relevance to the meeting." He added that such an opportunity also would have been interesting to talk with "that man," who probably is willing to seek a pact now. "It must be his intention," he said, stressing the politician's inconsistency.

Argentina's Foreign Minister Comments

PY0312172492 Asuncion ULTIMA HORA in Spanish 1 Dec 92 p 5

[Report by special correspondent Rogelio Lopez from Buenos Aires]

[Excerpt] Commenting on the alleged donation of $400,000 by the Menem administration for the electoral campaign of [Paraguayan Colorado presidential hopeful] Luis Maria Argana, Argentine Foreign Minister Guido Di Tella has said: "I can deny absolutely everything because nothing has been done at the government level. I cannot confirm if such a donation was made in light of reports that the money was allegedly delivered during our recent visit to Paraguay. Several businessmen went with us at that time and they may perhaps have supplied the money, although never in the name of the Argentine Government."

Asked about the existence of documents proving that Menem made such a donation, Di Tella said he knew nothing about it. He said: "That is a domestic Paraguayan matter and we do not intend to meddle in foreign domestic affairs. I was also told that there is a letter that was allegedly signed by (Defense Minister) Erman Gonzalez and by me in which we endorse the donation. No one has produced such evidence. There is no such document or letter. If such a letter is produced it would be false because I would never endorse an act of interference in the domestic affairs of other countries."

According to reports circulating in Buenos Aires, the total amount to be donated to Argana was $1 million. It has been added that this contribution stems from a commitment made by President Menem to former Paraguayan President Alfredo Stroessner in return for a similar amount donated by Stroessner to Menem for his campaign to win the Justicialist nomination against Antonio Cafiero, the current Argentine ambassador to Chile.

President Menem described the donation charge as "real rubbish." Di Tella elaborated on the subject and hinted at the possibility that the donation may have been made outside government channels. Di Tella said: "Stroessner had many friends in Argentina. That is nothing new. I do not believe, however, that he could have asked for contributions for a candidate seeking the Colorado Party nomination. I would like to state that President Andres Rodriguez and the Paraguayan presidential hopefuls have friends in Argentina and I do not see anything wrong for them asking for a loan here, like any friend would do when he is a bind."

Responding to our explanation that such a practice is unconstitutional in Paraguay, Di Tella said: "I do not know what the Paraguayan Constitution says, but I insist that candidates all over the world seek foreign help to finance their electoral campaigns, which are always costly. I would not be surprised if Argana received money from here, and likewise Wasmosy or Laino—who also have many friends in Argentina—could have also received money as well."

Finally, Di Tella said that this is a minor issue that has been blown out of proportion. He said: "Menem is a friend of Rodriguez. He also had good relations with Stroessner, despite not sharing his type of government. This does not mean, however, that Argentina is interested in the victory of any one candidate. We are watching the Paraguayan electoral process from outside. We are not interfering with it." [passage omitted]

Mexico's Salinas de Gortari Leaves for Home

PY0412013192 Asuncion RPC Television Network in Spanish 2330 GMT 3 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari returned to his country this afternoon. The agreements that were signed by Gortari and President Andres Rodriguez have strengthened relations between the two countries even more. [passage omitted]

Peru

Army Files Charges Against Maximo San Roman

PA0312133492 Paris AFP in Spanish 0452 GMT 3 Dec 92

[Text] Lima, 2 Dec (AFP)—The Peruvian Army command filed charges against Vice President Maximo San Roman [title as received] before the Attorney General on 2 December. San Roman is charged with alleged crimes against public faith and the management of justice, it was reported in an official communique.

The Army said San Roman delivered a false document to the media on 2 December accusing military personnel of massacring 16 civilians in a Lima neighborhood, so charges must be filed against him before Attorney General Blanca Nelida Colan.

San Roman has no government post although he was sworn in as constitutional president by the dissolved congress in April. He is also involved in an investigation by the prosecutor general concerning the foiled coup d'etat against President Alberto Fujimori.

San Roman is again featured in the media with this accusation—the second one in less than 48 hours. He had more or less been forgotten after he failed to get the people's support for the "parallel presidency" he tried to impose in April and May.

Moreover, President Fujimori said on 27 November the retired generals who tried to oust him on 13 November intended to install San Roman in the presidency of the Republic.

The vice president held a news conference and denied President Fujimori's charges; adding Presidential Adviser Captain Vladimir Montesinos is involved in the machine-gunning of 16 civilians in November 1991.

The massacre, which shook Lima because it included women and children, has not yet been solved by the police and judicial authorities.

Terrorist organizations—Shining Path and the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement—have denied their

participation in the crime, while human rights groups have said that "it possibly involved the participation of people who have ties with a military or police group."

The Army feels San Roman "is trying to involve military officers and personnel, either in active service or retired, in criminal actions—endangering their safety and that of their relatives with the possibility of homicidal terrorist actions."

San Roman Communique Denies Charges

PA0412025192 Lima Global de Television Network in Spanish 0100 GMT 4 Dec 92

[Text] Even though he convened a news conference, Maximo San Roman did not show up, but his wife did attend to read a communique in which he explains that at no time has he accused anyone for the Barrios Altos killings.

The curiosity of the journalists to know the steps to be followed by Maximo San Roman, after charges were filed by the Army at the Attorney General's Office, was satisfied on the afternoon of 3 December when the first vice president convened a news conference at his offices in San Isidro.

After waiting for over an hour, the unexpected happened. His wife, Irene Guerra de San Roman, arrived in a hurry just to read a communique.

[Begin Mrs. San Roman recording] On behalf of my husband, I will read this communique:

To the public: In view of official communique No. 1392 issued by the General Command of the Peruvian Army, I must point out the following:

In a news conference on 1 December, I submitted a document to be used for the proper investigation of the killings in (Tiron), Huanta. At no time did I accuse or confirm the truthfulness of the information contained there, as may be confirmed by the tape recording.

The best thing for the country and for those of us who defend its moral health, would be for the contents of the document to be false. The Attorney General's Office must prove, as the Army demands, that the document I submitted to the media—given its seriousness—is not authentic and must issue arrest warrants for those who fabricated it.
[Issued] Lima, 3 December 1992 [end recording]

Maximo San Roman's wife refused to provide further details. No further information was given at his residence, where the former senator held a private meeting with individuals, whose identities were not given. We were only told that San Roman was not home.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Why did he send you?

[Mrs. San Roman] To read the communique.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]

[Mrs. San Roman] I will not give you further details. [end recording]

Fujimori on Charges

PA0412023892 Lima Global de Television Network in Spanish 0114 GMT 4 Dec 92

[Text] President Alberto Fujimori has said that former Senator Maximo San Roman will be held responsible for his accusation on the killing of 15 people in a raid [pollada] in a Lima residential district. The president denied such accusations, recalling that similar charges were made last February in the Senate. He added that such charges were made as a mere formality and no investigation was conducted.

[Begin recording] [Fujimori] The Army General Command has issued a very clear communique. The Army termed the document false, adding that it had circulated without properly identifying the source. This document unfoundedly accused some active duty and retired officers for some crimes, such as the crime perpetrated in Huanta. The document was fabricated and the intelligence note was not issued by the intelligence services. They presented it as if it was an authentic document. The most serious things, however, is that this document has been presented to some international organizations, as if it was authentic.

[Unidentified reporter] What consequences will this accusation entail for Mr. San Roman?

[Second unidentified reporter] What will happen with San Roman?

[Fujimori] Well, criminal charges have been filed against him. This will follow its due course. As the executive branch, we obviously remain on the sidelines. However, here in Peru, the laws and ethical principles must be respected.

Nobody can fabricate documents using names of institutions.

[Reporter] Is Mr. San Roman committing so many abuses that perhaps he would be banned from leaving the country until this matter is clarified?

[Fujimori] Well, the investigation will determine that. However, it is necessary to clarify this. Given that some former senators claim that this document is authentic, they should file criminal charges. However, since they knew perfectly well that the document was fabricated by some politician, nothing happened with it.

[Reporter] Mr. President, Mr. Borea has asked the Military Supreme Justice Council for you to testify on the events of 13 November? Will you testify?

[Fujimori] Well, I will abide by the law and will defend myself as any other citizen. I do not have....

[Reporter, interrupting] How will you defend yourself, Mr. President?

[Fujimori] I will defend myself with the truth. I have no other arguments. I will defend myself through legal procedures, without using legal tricks. [end recording]

Fujimori Addresses Air Force Officers, Notes Trade

PA0412021692 Lima Global de Television Network in Spanish 0100 GMT 4 Dec 92

[Excerpts] President Alberto Fujimori has said that in 1993 Peru will make its dream of reentering the international financial market a reality and, in so doing, will consolidate one of the government's main objectives. He made the announcement during his commencement speech at the Peruvian Air Force [FAP] Officers Academy graduation ceremony. He also stated that in 1993 the country will no longer be behind in its payments to the international financial organizations. [passage omitted]

In addressing the graduates, President Fujimori highlighted the Air Force's efforts in fighting terrorism and drug trafficking in the jungles. He stated that now there is real democracy in the country, in which the people participate in the work alongside the Armed Forces.

[Begin Fujimori recording] There will now be democracy in Peru, because there will no longer be an oligarchic political monopoly of the traditional political party leaderships. Now there are new political organizations, new voices, and there will have to be democratic competition and debates. Healthy competitiveness is necessary even in politics, to ensure that he who has the better ideas and willingness to work will be the one to lead the nation. We also face a new political era in Peru.

The Peruvian Government has limited resources which it must administrate in the most rational way possible in order to reach the goals we have set, and so that reentry of our economy can become a reality. We cannot move forward without this happening first. Therefore, in 1993, we will no longer have any outstanding debts with the World Bank and the IMF, which will allow us to normalize our relations with the international financial community. [applause]

You have the sublime commitment to defend the national territory and contribute to making it grand, as our greatest heroes once dreamt. My congratulations to these magnificent graduates. I hereby declare this school year at the FAP Officers Academy closed. [applause] [end recording]

After the ceremony the president expressed his interest in learning about the operation of the recently purchased Soviet-made Mi-25 helicopters. There was no air show this year due to the accident involving two airplanes in Pisco.

Communique Suspends Air Maneuvers

PA0312130492 Lima Radio Programas del Peru Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 2 Dec 92

["Official communique" issued by the Peruvian Air Force, FAP, Directorate of Information in Lima on 2 December]

[Text] The Peruvian Air Force [FAP] reports to the community the following:

With regard to the air accident that took place on 1 December in Pisco—a site very close to an Air Force base—the FAP, joining in the grief of the victims' relatives and of the residents of that area, has decided to suspend the air maneuvers it traditionally carries out at the close of the military officers school year at Las Palmas Air Base.
[Issued] Lima, 2 December 1992
[Signed] FAP Directorate of Information.

Air Force Takes Control of Upper Huallaga Airports

PA0312185692 Lima Panamericana Television Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 3 Dec 92

[Text] The Peruvian Air Force has taken over the Upper Huallaga airports and landing strips. The airport at Juanjui was placed under military control this morning. The action is part of the efforts to fight drug trafficking in this area.

More than 50 Air Force members equipped with light weapons took over the airport in compliance with Decree 25426 of 10 April 1992, which put the Air Force in charge of surveillance and protection of all landing strips in the Upper Huallaga and other coca-growing areas. The airports at Tingo Maria, Uchiza, Tocache, Tarapoto, and Santa Lucia, among others, were taken over in the past few months. It is expected that the airport at Saposoa will be taken over in the coming weeks.

The Juanjui airport, with a 1450-meter runway, receives between 45 and 50 planes every day. This situation reduces the airspace that must be used by the planes of between 35 and 40 corporations flying to and from various areas in Upper Huallaga, which is well-known for drug trafficking.

Juanjui is a strategic location in the fight against drug trafficking because it includes localities such as Urcungo, 2 de Mayo, and Punta Hermosa, which are known as drug processing centers. With the presence of the Air Force, every plane attempting to cross this airspace, even if bound for another area, must land in Juanjui and its pilot must hand over to the inspector of the National Air Transport Directorate his pilot's license, medical certificate, airworthiness certificate, and authorization to operate in the area. Air Force intervention in this airport will last indefinitely. Authorities expect the efforts to counter drug trafficking successfully.

Alleged Coup Plotter Given Asylum, Leaves for Chile

PA0312153692 Lima Global de Television Network in Spanish 0100 GMT 3 Dec 92

[Text] Businessman Jorge Polack Merell, who has been implicated in the 13 November coup attempt, has traveled to Chile under political asylum. He was accompanied to the airport by Chilean Ambassador Alejandro Magnet.

Polack Merell, who sought refuge at the Chilean Embassy in Lima after escaping from the Counterterrorism National Directorate where he was detained in connection with his alleged participation in the 13 November coup attempt, traveled to Santiago, Chile on 2 December.

Polack Merell left the Chilean Embassy accompanied by Chilean Ambassador Alejandro Magnet after 1000. The car in which he was driven to the airport was followed by a National Police patrol. Both vehicles drove to the ramp at the Jorge Chavez International Airport. The Chilean ambassador accompanied Polack at all times, and even walked with him to the stairs of the Lan Chile plane that departed for Santiago at 1105.

Two businessmen who also own media sources are currently away from the country after seeking political asylum due to their presumed participation in the aborted coup. The first is Julio Vera Gutierrez, who is currently in Costa Rica.

The judicial branch said it has no knowledge of Jorge Polack Merell's departure to Chile and announced that in the next few hours it will issue instructions to the police for his arrest. This action will be taken in the next few hours, when the Judicial Police and possibly Interpol will be notified following the 2 December incidents.

The second citizen who had sought asylum after the frustrated coup d'etat expedited legal procedures to formalize his defense in a civilian court by accrediting Fernando Pochela Caravel, whose office is in La Victoria, as his defense lawyer at 1325.

Government Signs Cooperation Agreements With Japan

PY0312203492 Lima EL COMERCIO in Spanish 25 Nov 92 p 1

[Text] The government signed two cooperation agreements with Japan yesterday: one for $100 million, which will be used to finance the Financial System Reform Program, and another for $2.4 million, which will be used to repair and finish education infrastructure projects.

The agreements were signed in a private session in the presence of President Alberto Fujimori. The agreements were signed by Prime and Foreign Minister Oscar de la Puente Raygada, Economy Minister Carlos Bolona Behr, and Nobuo Nishizaki, Japanese Ambassador to Peru.

In an earlier news conference, President Fujimori explained that the $100 million earmarked to support the financial system is provided by the Japanese Government in a joint financial program with the Inter-American Development Bank [IDB], which also will contribute $200 million.

He explained further that the Japanese credit will be paid in 30 years at a 3 percent annual interest rate, and will be disbursed in three payments: one of $50 million, in a relatively short period of time, another of $25 million, and the last $25 million in the next few months.

He said these resources are intended for the Financial Adjustment Program and can help finance expenditures by the Treasury in liquidating some banks.

"It is a good lifesaver," he said.

The president considered both agreements very favorable. The agreements were signed two days after the election of the Constituent Congress "for the beginning of the profound reform of democracy that will lead us to the political modernization of Peru."

Moreover, Economy Minister Carlos Bolona Behr said this credit will mean that the IDB will accelerate its disbursement so that Japan also may disburse.

He said the $100 million is freely available because the government has made reforms in the financial system "with our own money."

Bolona Behr said other lines of credit now must be sought with the IDB, "totaling $200 million and $300 million that can be readily available."

He also stressed the signing by the Committee of Commercial Banks, creditors of Peru, of a document by which it promises to lift the charges filed against our country. He said negotiations with them will begin in February 1993.

Finally, he announced that several ministers will make a seven-day tour of 10 countries seeking the formation of a new support group that is expected to be led again by Japan and the United States.

Venezuela

Defense Minister on Coup Attempt

PA0412035992 Caracas Venezolana de Television Network in Spanish 0228 GMT 4 Dec 92

[Speech to the nation by Venezuelan Defense Minister Ivan Dario Jimenez Sanchez in Caracas on 3 December—live or recorded]

[Text] Venezuelans:

As the defense minister, and accompanied by the Venezuelan Armed Forces command staff, I address you to refer to the regrettable events in the country—especially in Caracas, Maracay, and Barquisimeto—that took place early on 27 November. On this date, military and civilian personnel attempted a coup d'etat. The first group betrayed its oath of allegiance to the Constitution, and the civilians supported the extreme leftist groups' deadly methods of violence and terror.

Early on 27 November, the coupists took the Venezolana de Television installations. They broadcast rebel slogans and messages, acted with extreme cruelty, and caused unnecessary deaths and destruction. They used the television channels to unsuccessfully call people to subvert order and back them in their attempts to destroy and eliminate the democratic system and the legitimate government.

The National Armed Forces, with the massive support of the Venezuelans, acted immediately. It assumed its responsibility as guarantors of the democratic institutions and carried out the necessary actions to control the military coup attempt. Interpreting the people's desires and based on their own convictions, military officers at all levels issued precise instructions to neutralize and extinguish this vile threat that had taken shape in the aforementioned cities.

We should point out that the rest of the country, although initially surprised about the constant television broadcast, remained calm and did not heed, in any way, the absurd call to take to the streets during the early hours of that day.

The coupists, acting consistently with their ideology and deadly methods of violence, used the Air Force aeronautics park and weapons stolen from Armed Forces arsenals. They also had the support of subversive groups and the officers who led them. They betrayed their relatives, their superiors, and worst of all, the subordinates who trusted them and believed in their wise decisions.

The military actions were aimed at taking control of El Libertador, Mariscal Sucre, and Generalisimo Francisco de Miranda Bases, located in Maracay and Caracas, respectively. From these bases they began to bomb and machine-gun the centers of military and political power in the country. Especially affected were Miraflores Palace, the Honor Guard Regiment, the Vicente Landaeta Air Force Base in Barquisimeto, and the Military Aviation Academy in Maracay, where the men, who will defend the future, the sovereignty, the skies of the fatherland, and the constitutional order, are trained. Likewise, the civil actions were aimed at indiscriminately killing honest workers, who were doing their job.

The orders to repel these actions were immediately handed down and were aimed at subduing the rebellion and reducing the air raids to the specified areas to avoid the tragic loss of lives and more extensive property damage than that already caused, which you have all been able to verify through the various media. Army, Navy, Air Force, and National Guard units carried out this mission efficiently. As the majority of the members of the National Armed Forces did, they firmly defended democracy and its institutions.

Television stations and civilian positions, the occupied Air Force bases, and the rebel operations were taken over. Army combat equipment was used, which allowed for the takeover of the Air Force bases occupied by the rebels, thereby nullifying their operations and their evil intentions to subvert the Venezuelan Government by force.

It is impossible to deny there was criminal cruelty. Venezuela is not accustomed, and we hope it will never be, to seeing the killing of men and women urgently needed by the country for the long, complex mission of development. The cruel images of spilled blood, the lootings, the dead soldiers and civilians, the flames, the destroyed equipment, and the bombs that never exploded and that were left behind as a reminder of the murderous inclinations of the rebels are elements of horror we will never be able to forget. It also left us the sad reminder of a group of men, who shielded behind their uniforms and the weapons entrusted to them by the fatherland to defend it, fired, not only against the people and their institutions but against their own comrades in arms, their own instructors, their superiors, and to top it all, against the Military Aviation Academy building in which they were trained to become officers. The full weight of the law should fall upon the military officers and civilians who participated in these actions of vandalism without standing on ceremony. The proper punishment should be applied in each case because to be weak now would be a deep mistake that could cost us dearly in the future.

The country rejects this cruel violence. The leaders never gave their face to the people, who still ignore what their intentions were, although it is easy to assume what they were by the methods used and the murders that were committed.

These people never identified themselves. As you remember, all their broadcasts were made through a video with constant threats by individuals who looked like gang members. They called on the people of Venezuela to take to the streets. No serious, formal offer was made. Not only does it show the incoherence of their plans and the total absence of commitment to assume responsibilities, but those who did not surrender fled in planes belonging to our Air Force to different areas.

The cowardly attitude of mid-level chiefs and leaders of the rebellion was demonstrated when they left behind those who were tricked into being used as their death tools.

Venezuelan people, the cruel test has passed. This has been another test that placed democracy in danger and that resulted in a painful balance of deaths as well as in extremely high costs as a result of the damage inflicted at all the above mentioned institutions. In the wake of this

event, we should be left with a number of premises for the future. The first is that the Armed Forces of Venezuela have a doctrine of democracy. We believe in a people who choose their leaders through elections. The second is, that all Venezuelans want to live in democracy. We want all Venezuelans who see and hear us to feel assured and to put their trust in our professionalism.

We believe this irresponsible action closes forever the chapter of violent solutions. This was demonstrated by the community's rejection of the call by the rebels. Innocent blood cannot continue to be lost due to unbounded ambitions by anarchic groups who only want to satisfy their personal interests. We want you to know that the nation identifies itself with the pain of its citizens for the loss of their loved ones. We are good, noble, and hardworking people. It is outrageous to think that the bombing could take place again against civilians and soldiers who were simply attempting to take refuge. This was the case in Barquesimeto, as well as in the destruction of private property in Caracas, or in the bombs dropped on the Maracay arsenal, or the terrible risk that a chain explosion would have caused to the military and civilian populations who live in the surroundings.

To conclude, I want to inform you that the process has begun for the strict and thorough application of the decree that order the military justice actions in these regrettable events. We will bring to justice by the law those who are guilty, while they wanted to apply justice by power of the weapons. We have buried our dead with pain. We will repair our equipment and our lives will go back to normal. However, we will not forget the cowards nor the traitors, nor those who did not hesitate to contradict a history of valiant bravery by killing persons who were on their knees. This was just to satisfy the appetite for blood, violence, and pain of those who wanted take us down the road of total destruction.

Shortly, we will give an overall demonstration of what we have confirmed here. [two second break in reception] 6 December electoral process will take place as scheduled. We will be present at all the electoral tables, even in the nation's most remote regions. We will be offering security to all Venezuelans so that they can vote with full liberty by guaranteeing the right to vote as the only way acceptable by all to set things in order. We will be faithful to the nation's maximum democratic aspiration. Therefore, I invite you to participate in the 6 December elections to demonstrate that Venezuelans want to live in peace. Each and everyone must express his preference for whom he wants, without pressures or threats. I ask you to vote, because we, the men of the Venezuelan Armed Forces, will be on the streets defending the ballots and upholding the results. The community can rest assured and they can trust us because we will defend the right to vote and the people's decision.

I invite you to work harder, to recover the time they made us lose. The future demands an effort on our part that will be the result of this activity. Compatriots, thank you for the many words of support we have received from all sectors. Venezuelan people, we will always be by your side.

Envoy in Panama on Granting Asylum to Coup Leaders

PA0312192392 Panama City LA PRENSA in Spanish 3 Dec 92 p 4A

[Report by Manuel Alvarez Cedeno]

[Text] Luis Ochoa, Venezuelan ambassador in Panama, said on 2 December that the asylum Peru granted to 92 [number as received] leaders of the coup in his country "could encourage the resurgence of militarism and insurrection against the rule of law and Latin American democracy."

"This (the asylum) could serve to encourage other Latin American military to do the same as they have the guarantee they will find asylum in another country," he said.

Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori granted asylum to the top leaders of the coup, who fled to Lima after the bloody coup attempt against Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez failed.

Ochoa noted the Peruvian decision to grant asylum to the insurgents must be respected, but countries must consider the circumstances in which the request took place.

The diplomat said that in this case, the insurgents who were granted asylum rose against the constituted authority and "indiscriminately massacred" many civilians. When asked if relations between Peru and Venezuela will be blocked by Lima's decision, the diplomat replied that no country likes it when another agrees to accept, as Peru has, those who rose against its constitutional order.

"That is why this situation must be analyzed, because we cannot let some insurgents cause a deterioration of the historic relations between our countries," he explained. Ochoa, however, reiterated that this decision can only encourage the resurgence of militarism and rebellion against the rule of law and democracy in Latin America.

He believed democracy must become stronger. "Fujimori has said the rule of law prevails in his country. He must, therefore, demonstrate his solidarity with the rule of law in Venezuela."

The ambassador said the situation in Venezuela "is totally normal. The president reinstated constitutional guarantees so elections can be held Sunday, 6 December, to choose governors, mayors, and municipal councils."

Navy Denies Frigates Took Part in 27 Nov Coup Attempt

PA0312132292 Caracas Venezolana de Television Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 3 Dec 92

[Text] The Venezuelan Navy has issued a communique to state that the information in the newspaper column "The Days of Diaz Rangel," which suggests that two missile equipped frigates probably participated in the 27 November events, is false. The Navy General Command considers it is necessary to refute the information entirely because it confuses public opinion and generates concern among the military ranks as it casts doubt on the frigate commanders and crew members. The Navy communique asserted that this type of negative information furthers the climate of anxiety in the country. It reaffirmed the honor and total loyalty of the officers, suboofficers, and sailors of the fleet's missile equipped frigates.